Lund Studies in International History

Reda Mowafi

Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts in Egypt and the Sudan 1820-1882

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PREFACE

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the slave trade and slavery in Egypt and the Sudan under the Egyptian administration (1820 - 1882). Our detailed knowledge of these subjects is still far from adequate. It is hoped that this dissertation will give an insight into the complexity of these phenomena.

I have chosen the years 1820 - 1882, because in 1820 Egypt had started to extend her control to the Sudan, and in 1882 the Egyptian campaigns against the slave trade there were a major factor in the Mahdist revolt and the ejection of the Egyptians from the Sudan.

This study is based on materials in the Egyptian National Archives, Cairo, and the Public Record Office, the British (Museum) Library, the Royal Geographical Society, and the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, all in London.

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Stockholm
February 1981

Reda Mowafi

The Sudan was conquered by Egypt in 1820 - 22 at the time of Muḥammad 'Alī, the founder of modern Egypt and the grand-father of Khedive Ismā'īl. Muḥammad 'Alī, who came to power in 1805 as Viceroy of Egypt under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan, was soon called upon to steer a course that was beset with difficulties on all sides, in order to consolidate his position in Egypt against the vagaries of the Sublime Porte and the intrigues of the European Powers. The Sudan as the emporium of the trade of Equatorial and East Africa was expected to provide the needed money thanks to the caravans that had carried for generations before the advent of Muḥammad 'Alī, the wares and products of the Sudan to Egypt.

Muḥammad 'Alī, however, desired to control the Sudanese trade himself. He believed that the Sudan and Ethiopia abounded in gold. He knew that from the south came those dark-skinned stalwart slaves who had always been greatly prized in Egypt. All three motives for the conquest of the Sudan were strong. Above all it seemed that Muḥammad 'Alī was more attracted to the Sudan by the idea of levying and training whole armies of Sudanese, who would enable him to dispense with his mutinous Albanians and Turks and defy the Sultan and his hosts.[1] After the conquest, Muḥammad 'Alī perpetually urged his commanders to collect and send as many Sudanese slaves as they could to the training camps at Aswān. In conversations with the French Consul, Muḥammad 'Alī declared that he required the Sudanese for the double purpose of making them a *Niẓām Jadīd* (new model army), and employing those who proved unfit for military service in his many agricultural and industrial projects.[2]

At the beginning of the 19th century there was shortage of man power in Egypt. Owing to civil wars created by rivalry among Mamlūk factions during the 18th century, the revolts caused by the French occupation of Egypt (1798 - 1801), and the wars of Muḥammad 'Alī in Arabia (1813 - 18), many people had perished. Moreover, the drain on the Egyptian population (estimated in 1800 at 2,460,200 and 1821 at 2,536,400) for service in the army, the factories, and the new irrigation projects was very considerable. The army of *Fallaḥīn* (Egyptian peasants) built after 1820, increased from 19,000 men in 1823 to 90,000 in 1826, and 200,000 in 1840. A further 20,000 men were in the navy and another 30,000 in the state factories. Clot Bey estimated that after 1819 355,000 men were corvéed for four months every year in digging out canals and other irrigation works.[3]

Prior to the extension of the Egyptian administration to the Sudan, however, slavery and the slave trade were already well-established institutions there. The slave trade was one of the oldest branches of commerce in the countries which Muḥammad 'Alī ruled. Slave hunts were periodically conducted in the Sudan and the countries to the southward, and the captives carried up in caravans of considerable size. A certain amount of trade, chiefly in slaves, flourished in the Sudan in the 17th and 18th centuries.[4] The two kingdoms of Sinnār and Dār Fūr managed to establish commercial relations with their neighbours. Merchandise was carried by caravans from the Sudan to the outer world, mainly to Egypt and Abyssinia, while at the Red Sea ports of Massawa` and Sawākin, the goods were exchanged for the products of Asia, especially those of Arabia, Persia and India. The Sudan traded mainly in gold, ivory, gum, ostrich feathers as well as other commodities. The most important traffic, however, was in slaves, and the caravans came to Egypt in the 18th and 19th centuries laden with cargoes of slaves, together with ivory and gum.[5]

On the establishment of Muḥammad 'Alī's power in the Sudan, it is likely that for a time the number considerably increased because of the Pasha's desire to form a great army of Sudanese. The Egyptian conquest, however, was not the only reason for the expansion of the slave traffic. The Russian occupation of Georgia and Circassia (1801 - 28) greatly reduced the supply of white slaves *(Mamlūks)*[6] sent from these regions to Constantinople, and so increased the demand for such brown and black slaves that could be supplied from Egypt. Then too the matter became much better known. The regularity of the new government permitted Europeans to travel through the Sudan with safety.[7] Their writings revealed the extent of the slave trade to the outer world and subsequently anti-slavery circles, particularly in Britain, became gradually involved in the problem. In order to understand these developments, a detailed study of the slave trade and slavery in the 19th century is both necessary and important.

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2. Driault, E., *La Formation de l'Empire de Mohamed Aly de l'Arabie au Soudan 1814 - 1823, Correspondance des Consuls de France en Egypte,* Paris 1827, pp. 225 - 26; Mengin, F., *Histoire Somaire de l'Egypte sous le gouvernment de Mohamed Aly,* Paris 1839, vol. 2, pp. 192, 294 - 95.
3. Parl. Papers, 1840, xxi, *A Report on Egypt and Candia* by John Bowring, p. 4; Clot Bey, A.B., *Apercu Général sur l'Egypte,* Paris 1840, vol. 2, pp. 229 - 35; a useful article on the Egyptian population is, McCarthy, J.A., "Nineteenth-Century Egyptian Population", *Middle East Studies,* vol. xxi/3, London 1976, pp. 1 - 39.

4. Its roots went far back into history. Slaves were included in the *baqt* (Latin pactum?), H. 31/A.D. 632, or the annual Nūbian tribute, unquestionably a continuation of an ancient tradition, which was furnished to Egypt regularly from the seventh to the thirteenth century (Brunschvig, R., *'Abd, Encyclopaedia of Islam,* second edition, Leiden 1960, vol. 1, pp. 24 - 40). It was stipulated by the Arabs in the *baqt* that the Christian Kingdoms of Nubia had to pay a tribute of 360 slaves to the Governor of Aswān every year. (Meinardus, O., "The Christian Kingdoms of Nubia", *Cahiers d'Histoire Egyptienne,* X, 1966, pp. 145 - 47). This was not the only traffic in slaves: "Whenever any Muslim travels to Nubia either trading or with a present to the Governor or to his Chief, the Governor receives it all and rewards him with slaves". (Trimingham, J.S., *Islam in the Sudan,* Oxford 1965, pp. 62 - 63; citing al-Maqrīzī, Khitat, vol. 1, pp. 307 - 308).
5. Poncet, M.A., *A Voyage to Ethiopia,* London 1709, pp. 28, 36, 55, 61; Burckhardt, J.L., *Travels in Nubia,* London 1819, pp. 345 - 49, 383, 439 - 41.
6. *'Abd* is the ordinary word for "slave" in Arabic of all periods, (pl. *'abīd)* more particularly for "male slave", female slave being *ama* (pl. *ima`*). Both words are of old Semitic stock. *'Abd Mamlūk,* from Arabic *malaka,* "possess" should be rendered: "a slave, who is (himself) a piece of property". Hence the development in the classical Arabic of *Mamlūk* as a noun meaning "slave" (later also ex-slave). In Medieaval Islam, the word *"Mamlūk"* (pl. *Mamālīk*) came to be applied to a member of a military body (originally Caucasian slaves) that seized power in Egypt in 1250. (Brunschvig, *'Abd).*
7. Dodwell, pp. 230 - 32.

CHAPTER I

THE ROLES AND FUNCTIONS OF SLAVES.

Concubines, Servants and Eunuchs.

In the Muslim world there was an intimate connection between the slave trade and slavery. Without a steady inflow of slaves, slavery would quickly have vanished or would at least have been much more difficult to maintain. This was due to emancipation and high mortality rates combined with low fertility among slaves, a situation unknown in the United States, where emancipation scarcely happened and where fertility was high. It is true that the abolitionists were attacking - at the beginning - the slave trade and not slavery, but since in Muslim countries, very few were born in bondage, the institution was bound to die if the supply of slaves was stopped.[1] This situation was totally different from that of the United States where slavery continued for several decades after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807.

In the 19th century the institution of slavery was deeply entrenched in the social structure of the Sudan, and most of the slaves used or exported from this country were procured from the peripheral tribes and other African countries. This was the great reservoir of manpower where they were captured in wars or raids; kidnapped, paid as tax or tribute, presented as gifts, or simply bought. Slaves came from different places and often travelled great distances. From the west and central Sudan they crossed the Sahara on the great caravan routes to northern Africa, and many were sent on to the markets of the Ottoman Empire and beyond. From the Sudan and Abyssinia, they came northwards, overland or down the Nile to the North African Littoral or were shipped north and eastwards, as were the Somalis, to Arabia, the Persian Gulf and India.

The function of slavery in Muslim countries was both social and economic. Different types of slaves were wanted for several purposes. The most highly prized were not the Africans but white slaves, usually Circassian or Georgian girls, wanted as concubines in the *ḥarīm,* but they were expensive and their numbers small. In the 19th century white slaves were brought to Egypt from the countries on the eastern coast of the Black Sea (Circassia and Georgia), and from the Circassian settlements in Anatolia, via Istanbul. Some were kidnapped by organised raids and some taken as prisoners in the wars between rival clans, but most were bought as children from parents who sold them with the intention of bettering their condition. Thus there had been, no doubt, all the time a traffic in Circassian children in Istanbul, encouraged by all parties corcerned.[2] "The parents who could not support their children sold them to secure a better living for them. The children are delighted to get from poverty to comfort, and the purchaser by whom such children, half servants, half playmates for his own children, were usually adopted, marries them if females to his sons or nephews, and if males protects and advances them to creditable and influential Situations".[3]

In the second half of the 19th century these slaves were secretly brought from Circassia and Georgia. One mode of introducing them to Turkey by the slave dealers was to bring them to Istanbul as their wives. The girls were generally taken to various private houses where purchasers resorted and then taken to various *ḥarīms.* The white slave traffic was not accompained by cruelty. The parents had bred their girls for sale, they themselves looked to it for position and settlement in life as do girls in other countries. It was a common practice for a Muslim woman in Turkey to buy a female slave, to bring her up, to educate her to those accomplishments which were most prized by husbands and with a view of disposing of her in matrimony or on favourable terms.[4] Besides each particular branch of work, each slave learnt to sew, make her own clothes, and do fine needle work. Religious instruction was given to all and they were taught to read the Arabic script and the Qur`ān. The most intelligent received a higher education and became secretaries.[5] The bringing up of slave girls from the age of eight to ten was among the middle and upper classes even carried out as a regular and very profitable business. On reaching marriageable age these girls were sold at high prices to Egyptian princes, the Bey of Tunis, or millionaires in Muslim countries. The price of these girls varied from several hundred to a thousand gold pounds.[6]

White slaves arriving from Istanbul into Egypt were landed at Alexandria. They were attended by a eunuch, who pretended that they were *ḥarīm* belonging to some dignitary, and thus preventing their being inspected on landing: some were taken directly to the viceregal family or to the dignitaries who had ordered them, and some others were taken to private houses be-

longing to the slave dealers, where they were exhibited to prospective buyers.[7]

Light-skinned Abyssinian girls, usually Galla or Sidama, served the same purpose, e.g., as concubines, and were in greater supply than whites but they, too, commanded high prices. Black women were also used as concubines and, being cheaper, they were also wanted as servants. To keep white concubines was almost exclusively the privilege of the viceregal family and the wealthiest Turks in Egypt.[8] Few native Egyptians could afford such a luxury, they had to content themselves with the second best, the Abyssinian girls, as had the poorer part of the Turkish upper class. Black concubines were usually acquired by the lowest strata of the slave-possessing society of Egypt.[9]

In the Sudan slave girls from Abyssinia were to be found in many of the wealthier and more important households. Hoskins, who travelled in the Sudan in 1833, observed "few are the Turks who have not Ethiopian girls in their harems".[10] Junker, on the other hand, noted that there was hardly a *ḥarīm* in the Sudan or in Arabia that had not some Abyssinian or Galla slave that had passed the Gallabat market. Many of the Egyptian officers purchased wives there. These were "mostly young girls from seven to fourteen years of age, kidnapped in the southern vassal states and the borderlands of Ethiopia, and brought thither to recruit the Sudanese Harem ... they are all spoken of exclusively as Abyssinians".[11] They were described as very pretty, have good figures, small hands and feet, soon become most cleanly in their person and dress, pick up all the benefits of civilisation, get fairly educated, make good servants, and are faithful and lovable . . . the mother of many an Egyptian or Turk in high position has hailed from the Galla country or Abyssinia".[12] Offspring of these unions have been known as Habashī (Abyssinian) in Egypt ever since.

Thus slavery had important social functions. It was the means by which a man might build up his family. The number of legal wives he might have was limited to four, but he could have all the concubines he could afford, and their children were free and usually had the same standing as his other progeny. Furthermore, his choice of wifes might be limited by political and other considerations but concubines could be chosen for their looks.

Slaves also had an important function as domestic or in-door servants. In every family above the poorest domestic chores were carried out by servants of this class. From the house of the pettiest dealer up to the palace of the Khedive, slave labour for this kind of work was the rule.[13] "So inwrought, indeed, is the institution into the domestic and social life of the country, that the possession of one or more slaves is as essential to respectability amongst one's neighbours as is that of a servant for menial work in a European family, and this social consideration has, probably, more to do with the maintenance of the institution than any question as to the relative cost of slave and free labour".[14]

Although slaves in 19th century Egypt tended to be a status symbol, the possession of slaves was not the prerogative of the wealthy minority; all but the poorest families owned slaves. The wealthiest were usually the owners of the more expensive white concubines and eunuchs. In the list of slaves freed by the British Consulate in Cairo in 1866 - 1868, all classes of Egyptian society were slave-owners: governors, merchants, senior government officials, land owners, *fallaḥīn,* clerks, judges, bankers, police and army officers, shopkeepers, butchers, all possessed slaves.[15]

Thus almost all female slaves were destined for domestic occupations, to which may be added, when she was physically attractive, the gratification of her master's pleasure. Here indeed lay the commonest motive for their purchase. Those who showed aptitude for study were given a thorough musical or even literary education, by the slave dealer or the slave master, and amused by their attainments the leisure hours of the high society.

Thus slavery in Muslim countries, has always been very different from that which existed in the Americas after their colonisation by Europeans. Gang slavery for work in the fields or in industry and mining was almost unknown in the Islamic world. The vast majority of slaves, therefore, escaped the system of collective forced labour which condemns man to one of the most distressful of all experiences. Most of the slaves were employed in wealthy households for domestic service and were well treated. Burckhardt could even state that, "slavery, in the East, has little dreadful in it but the name; male slaves are everywhere treated much like the children of the family, and always better than the free servants",[16] while Schweinfurth, comparing the two kinds of slavery, underlined that: "the contrast in slave-labour is very great, and whilst the Europeans have looked upon their slaves as little better than useful domestic animals, the oriental slave is a mere object of luxury. Only a small proportion of the slaves that were brought annually from the interior were employed in the field labour in Egypt".[17] This does not mean that they were one and all contented with their lot. But setting aside the horrors of capture and the degradation of the slave market, and taking into account the general harshness of the times, the condition of the slaves with their Muslim masters was tolerable and not too much in variance with the quite liberal regulations which the official morality and the law had striven to establish.[18] They had, in addition, the prospect of liberation, which it was not always overbold to hope for.

During the 19th century most of the black, and the majority of white slaves imported into Egypt were female. At the beginning of the century Girard stated that 80% of the slaves imported from Dār Fūr were young girls or women.[19] In about 1815, Burckhardt estimated, however, that two thirds of the slave population in Egypt were males, and the rest females,[20] an estimate that cannot be correct when compared to earlier and later estimates. It is true

that in the 1820's - when Muḥammad 'Alī tried to create a large army of slaves - the emphasis was on male slaves, but this was exceptional and the ratio soon reverted to a preponderance of females, and in the years 1837 - 1840 it was estimated by Mengin, Bowring and Campbell that about 75% of the slave population in Egypt were females.[21]

There are no statistics related to the slave population; still less do we know about the number of unrecognised children born by blacks to Egyptian masters or by black slaves amongst themselves. It seems, however, that black slaves in 19th century Egypt constituted only a very small proportion of the total population.[22]They did not develop into a distinct black-minority group in Egypt as was the case for example in the United States. This was attributed by contemporaries to a variety of reasons: high mortality and low fertility among slaves as well as the habit of emancipation of slaves after a certain period. Thus there would be little chance of a natural increase in the slave population. Large families of slave children, of pure negro blood, born in Egypt were said to be rare. The black slaves were generally considered to be deficient in physical stamina. They succumbed easily to disease and died in greater proportion than the other races during the prevalence of epidemic or contagious disease. It was maintained by Burckhardt that during the plague of 1815, more than 8,000 slaves were reported to have died in Cairo alone.[23] Bowring on the other hand, states that "the numbers of blacks appears to decrease, notwithstanding the perpetual immigration. The black women are indeed many of them mothers, but nearly half of their offspring die", and that "the mortality amongst black slaves in Egypt is frightful. When the epidemical plague visits the country they are swept away in immense multitudes, and they are the earliest victims of any domineering disease. I have heard it estimated that five or six years are sufficient to destroy a generation of slaves, at the end of which the whole have to be repienished . . ., when they marry, their descendants seldom live".[24] In the second half of the century, another observer commented on the state of black slaves in Egypt, that "few black slaves indeed reach middle age, ten to twelve years were generally sufficient to sweep away a generation, at the end of which the whole had to be replaced. Black slave children, born in the country, mostly die early, and consequently contribute little or nothing to maintain the class".[25]

There was low fertility among slaves because they were secluded from each other and there was little intermarriage among them. The situation in Egypt was thus different from that in America where the slave population was selfrenewing, and where the descendants of slaves constituted a large part of the population. The third reason why the slave population in Egypt did not increase was the Muslim custom of manumission of slaves by their masters a few years after their aquisition, and the fact that children born of female slaves had to be free because they had free fathers.

Another category of domestic slaves were the eunuchs, who chiefly on the model of Byzantium, filled the palaces of the caliphs, the amīrs and all the nobles in mediaeval islam, at first as guardians of the *ḥarīm*. They were rarely referred to by their specific appellation of "castrate" (*Khaṣī*) or "eunuch" (*tawāshī*); they were more usually designated by a neutral name: "servant" (*Khādim*), or as mark of high honour, master in the sense of "teacher" (*ustādh*), which also indicated the function performed by some of them.[26]

In general every mutilation of men and beasts was strictly forbidden by the *Sharī'a* (Muslim law),[27] and although early Muslims revolted against mutilation and other abuses against slaves, the custom of castration seems to have soon become common, and slaves who had undergone this operation were highly appreciated in the slave-holding countries of the Middle East. This appreciation caused the continuation of this evil and it became the most revolting concomitant of the slave trade. The slave traders in the Sudan and elsewhere, who castrated their slaves for export, could expect enormous profits in consequence of this mutilation.

Travellers in the 18th and 19th centuries are almost unanimous in the descriptions that the making of eunuchs was carried out in Upper Egypt.[28] At one time, it seems that there were two principal centres, one around Asyūṭ and one in Jirja. There was a caravan route from the Great Oasis, al-Khārjā to Jirja for the steady supply of slaves. By about 1810, Jirja decreased in political and economic importance, and lost its importance as a slave trade centre, and the practice of making eunuchs there disappeared. At the same time, however, there existed a large market in Asyūṭ, and there is no doubt that prior to the beginning of the 19th century castrated and uncastrated slaves were sold in the mart of Asyūṭ. By the end of the 18th century, Dr. Frank reported of caravans from Sinnār and Dār Fūr, which used to arrive in Abū-Tīg, a village situated 20 kilometers south of Asyūṭ, where the slave dealers engaged in the practice of making eunuchs.[29] In 1813, however, the first mention of another village, also situated south of Asyūṭ, was made by Burckhardt as the place of making eunuchs, "the great manufactury which supplied all European, and the greater part of Asiatic Turkey with these guardians of female virtue, is at *Zawyat ed-Deyr* (the monastery), a village near Siut (Asyūṭ) in Upper Egypt, chiefly inhabited by Christians. The operators, were two Coptic monks, who were said to excel all their predecessors in dexterity".[30] They received the victims (little boys between the age of eight and twelve years) into their house immediately after the arrival of the caravans. Their profession was held in comtempt even by the vilest Egyptians.[31]

The consequences of castration were easily recognized. The secondary sex characteristics, such as growth of beard and hair on the body were obstructed, and the change of the larynx did not take place. The result was that

eunuchs often looked feminine and had a feminine voice. Yet, Burckhardt's description of eunuchs as men having faces destitute of flesh, with hollow eyes and skeleton-like appearance, is probably an exaggeration.

There are various estimates given by travellers as to the number of boys who were annually castrated in Upper Egypt. In 1798 Dr. Frank was informed by the mayor of the village where the operation was performed that between one and two hundred eunuchs were made there every year.[32] Burckhardt stated that about one hundred and fifty eunuchs were made in Upper Egypt annually, though in 1812 two hundred young Dār Fūr slaves were castrated especially to be exported to Turkey.[33] By 1836, Clot Bey reported that three hundred eunuchs were made every year by the castrators of Upper Egypt.[34] This was confirmed by Bowring who estimated that the annual sales of eunuchs at Cairo in the late 1830's were about 300, including those who were exported to other countries. The making of eunuchs was, however, prohibited later on and the whole of the small yearly import came ready-made from Kurdufān and Dār Fūr.[35]

The principal customers of eunuchs were the Sultans in Constantinople, where the eunuchs were employed for the *ḥarīms* of the court. But in addition the whole Ottoman Empire was supplied from Upper Egypt for according to Clot Bey, Egypt was the only place where castration was practiced at his time.[36]

The traditional function of the eunuchs was to guard the *ḥarīm,* to prevent any unauthorised male from entering or contacting the women there. Those who had access to the *ḥarīm* were few, namely, the master of the family, and certain other near relations, and children, and in cases of illness, a doctor. According to Lane, the *ḥarīm* consisted of a wife, or wives (to the number of four); secondly, of female slaves, some of whom, namely white and Abyssinian slaves, were generally concubines, and others (the black slaves) who were kept merely for servile work, as cooking and waiting upon the ladies etc.; thirdly, of female free servants, who were in no case concubines, or not legitimately so, but were mostly of the last mentioned class.[37]

In palaces eunuchs were employed to protect the numerous female retinue from the unauthorised gaze of men. A senior eunuch, took charge of the young ones and tought them to read, write, simple arithmetics and to be cleanly in their habits. In private houses they outranked the other servants, enjoyed many privileges, and they were never assigned work in addition to the easy tasks described above.[38] Burckhardt, Lane, von Kremer, and other travellers in Muslim countries have observed that eunuchs, on account of the important and confidential offices they filled, were generally treated with great consideration. Very often, eunuchs became men of great influence and power at the courts of their respective owners.[39] In fact the corps of eunuchs was the only channel by which a black could attain a high position.

Military Slaves

Slaves in 19th century Egypt and Sudan were not only required for domestic service and concubinage, but also for military service. The use of slaves as soldiers by Muslim rulers was not new; slave-soldiers had existed for many centuries, and their use increased rapidly from the ninth century onwards. A great number formed the personal bodyguards or the enormous slave-militias, black or white, which speedily reinforced or replaced the 'Arab, Berber and Iranian fighting-men. This military function was the chief reason for the introduction in Irāq, by the caliphs of Bāghdād, of Turkish slaves. But certainly the most remarkable regime of this kind, remarkable both for the extent of the phenomenon and of the great ethnic variety of white warrior-slaves involved in it, must have been that of the Mamlūks in Egypt.[40]

From 1250 until the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517, Egypt was ruled by an elite of soldiers who had been white slaves, the Mamlūks. They were imported as children into Egypt mainly from Circassia and Georgia and received a thorough military training and were as a rule enfranchised when they came of age. The Mamlūks imported new slaves to serve or replace them, and under Ottoman supremacy, they continued to be the effective rulers of Egypt until most of them were crushed in a great massacre carried out by Muḥammad 'Alī in the Citadel of Cairo in March 1811. During the 19th century, however, Mamlūks continued to be bought, although they no longer constituted a ruling aristocracy, and until at least the middle of the century, some still occupied important positions as army-officers, military guards, and as governors of provinces. By the middle of the 19th century this trade had dwindled owing to the indiscriminate admission of native Egyptians to the army and the public service and only a few white males were occasionally bought as domestic servants and as playfellows for the sons of the wealthier Beys or Pashas. In 1839, Bowring estimated that there were, 2,000 Mamlūks and 3,000 white females in Egypt, but their number steadily declined so that out of 8,092 slaves manumitted between August 1877, and November 1882, there were no more than twenty-two-white males, and seventy-six Circassian females.[41]

Black slave soldiers were first employed in Muslim Egypt during the reign of the two dynasties of the Tulunids and Ikhshīdids (868-969) and from then until about 1170 black soldiers played a very important role in the history of the Fāṭimid dynasty (969-1171). Black soldiers fought throughout the Western Muslim world, they were loyal, and several times sacrificed themselves to defend their masters. The Fāṭimids raised large battalions of black slaves as a counterweight to their Berber and Turkish troops. Proximity to Nūbia made it possible to procure abundant slaves for the army.[42] In 1169, 50,000 black soldiers were engaged in the final and decisive battle between the Fāṭimids and

the Ayyūbids. The slave troops were beaten, and the survivors driven out of northern Egypt to the south and the Sudan. From that time on no major force of black slaves were recruited in Egypt until the 1820's when Muḥammad 'Alī began to raise his black army.[43]

From the Egyptian conquest of the Sudan until the British occupation of Egypt, Muḥammad 'Alī and his successors persistently tried to use black slaves as soldiers in the army. By conquering the land which lay to the south of Egypt, the Viceroy did not, of course, mean to enslave the free Muslim peoples there but to tap the reservoir of slaves which they held and to have access to the pagan areas, still further south, which were the traditional areas for slave-raiding. The supply of African slaves was increasing in importance during this period, since the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, finally recognised in the Russo-Persian Treaty of Turkmanchay in 1828, reduced Mamlūk recruitment from this region.

Even the French in Egypt had incorporated black slaves into the army when French manpower resources were dwindling and they could not find recruits among the hostile Egyptian population. In the middle of 1799, Napoleon sent with the caravans a letter to the Sultan of Dār Fūr, 'Adb el-Raḥmān al-Rashīd requesting the despatch to Egypt of 2,000 slaves,[44] and later on slaves were purchased by the French army from the Nūbian caravans and enlisted in the army.

When the French withdrew from Egypt in 1801, they left behind several hundred deserters. These Frenchmen were entrusted by the Mamlūks and the Ottoman Pashas with the organization of small units manned by negro slaves, and instructed by Europeans and Levantines. These units changed hands during the period which followed the French occupation, and Muḥammad 'Alī, as one of the Ottoman dignitaries contending for the vālīship of Egypt, maintained a small bodyguard of these slave troops. These slaves were well-disciplined, and gave the Pasha the idea of creating a large army of black slaves.[45]

Muḥammad 'Alī, who had fought the French with the Ottoman expeditionary force cooperating with the British army, gained first-hand experience of Western military techniques. This experience inspired Muḥammad 'Alī to create an Egyptian army based on European techniques, discipline and organization, but the Pasha arrived at the conclusion that forcing European discipline on traditional Ottoman troops was impossible in Egypt, as it was in the Ottoman Empire proper.[46] Attempts at reforms had been the cause of the downfall of Sultan Selīm III, and the news that Muḥammad 'Alī was contemplating innovations produced a military revolt in Cairo during the Arabian War. Muḥammad 'Alī's Albanian soldiers through whom he had come to power, were unreliable. To recruit a loyal army of slaves was a traditional

device of Muslim rulers when threatened by the soldiery that had brought them to power. No doubt, therefore, the Sudan expedition would rid him of these undisciplined fighters and in their place supply him with captives of a more docile race, who could form the new army. Furthermore, to assure his superiority over all internal rivals and possibly over external enemies as well, Muḥammad 'Alī wanted an army on a European model.[47]

To create a cadre of officers for the new army, several hundred Mamlūks attached to the Pasha's court and the households of other Turkish dignitaries were sent to Aswān to be trained as officers. In 1820, barracks were built and a military school was founded at Aswān and the training started. The military training was assigned to French officers who had served under Napoleon, the most outstanding was the celebrated Colonel Octave-Joseph Anthelme Sevé, who became a Muslim and is known in Egyptian history as Sulaymān Pasha al-Faransāwī. The rank-and-file of the new army were recruited from blacks originating from the Sudan.[48] In Aswān each recruit was vaccinated and clothed in a calico vest. By order of the Viceroy, the pagan recruits were instructed in the ritual of Islām by Egyptian peasant *shaykhs* appointed as their chaplains.[49]

There are only estimates of the number of Sudanese who arrived at the training camps at Aswān. A great number perished of hardship in transit from Sinnār and Kurdufān. Of those who arrived many died in the camps of fevers, chills and the dryness of the climate. Thus, out of an estimated 30,000 negroes who came to Upper Egypt in the years 1822 and 1823, only 3,000 survived.[50]

With the failure of Muḥammad 'Alī's plan to create a new army of Sudanese soldiers, he had to look elsewhere for recruits. The remedy suggested to the Viceroy by Drovetti, the French consul-general and his Napoleonic French advisers was the conscription of the native *fallaḥīn*. Conscription started in 1822 and about 30,000 native recruits were taken and send up to Aswān. The organisation of an army based on Turko-Mamlūk officers trained by Sevé, the surviving negro soldiers, and the new Fallaḥīn conscripts was carried on. By the middle of 1824 the first six new regiments were ready.[51]

The use of soldiers of slave origin did not end with the failure of Muḥammad 'Alī's experiment. The Viceroys continued to conscript slaves for the army until 1882, this was the case especially in the Sudan where the garrisons were largely made up of black soldiers. After 1823, Muḥammad 'Alī wanted to reduce the cost of garrisoning the Sudan where 10,000 infantry and 9,000 cavalry made a heavy charge on the Egyptian treasury. It must have occured to the Viceroy that it was more economic to garrison the Sudan by recruiting blacks. It was not long before the defence and security of the Sudan were entrusted mainly to black troops. Recruited by violence or purchase, these black soldiers proved their worth to the government.[52] Black soldiers were later needed not only for garrisoning the Sudan, but for service abroad.

From 1831, Muḥammad 'Alī was committed to war in Syria and Anatolia, a war which drained the manpower of Egypt, and made the Viceroy starve the Sudan for equipment and men in the north. All but the bare bones of Egyptian forces were withdrawn from the Sudan, and 'Alī Kursnīd Pasha, Governor-General of the Sudan 1826-38, had to increase the strength of the Sudan army by recruiting more blacks. Furthermore, in 1835, Kursnīd received orders to raise two black regiments for service in Arabia against the Wahhābī insurgents.[53]

Khurshīd went for recruits to the Upper Blue Nile area where the Sudan merges into Western Abyssinia, or on the plains to the west as far south as the valley of the White Nile. Blacks dwelling the Nūba mountains could be raided conveniently from al-Ubbayyiḍ. In 1827, Khurshīd led an expedition against the Dinka living on the east bank of the White Nile. He was accompanied by Shaykh Sulaymān Abū Rōf with several hundred of his Arabs, whose grazing lands were on the bank of the Nile between Sinnār and Fāzūghlī. He reached the River Sobat: after an absence of three months, he returned to Khartoum bringing 500 Dinka captives.[54] In 1828, Khurshīd went to the Blue Nile and raided the pagan Ingessana for slaves,[55] and in 1830, Khursnīd ascended the river at the head of a force of 2,000 men, until he reached the Shilluk kingdom at Fashoda, (the present Kodok). The expedition took only 200 prisoners and sailed back to Khartoum. Khurshīd's official motive for this expedition was the punishment of the Shilluk for the raids they had been making in their canoes against the riverain Arabs downstream.[56] In 1831-32, Khurshīd led an expedition of 6,000 men, the largest force yet employed on these raids, with the region of Tāka as his objective. His aim was to subdue the area and probably to obtain much cattle and slaves. The campaign was not successful, and Khurshīd had to return back, after losing 1,500 of his men.[57] Late in 1832, Khurshīd went to Fāzūghlī, and attacked various mountains inhabited by blacks, where he could take many prisoners.[58] Khurshīd conducted these campaigns chiefly to obtain recruits for the army.[59]

In the meanwhile, Rustum Bey, Governor of Kurdufān under Khurshīd, was conducting other recruitment expeditions in the vicinity of his province. In January 1830, he led an expedition against the blacks living in the mountains of Kurdufān, where he took 1,400 captives. He selected 1,000 young males from amongst them and despatched them to Egypt.[60] In 1832, Rustum led another expedition to the mountains inhabited by blacks and took 1,500 captives, who were recruited for the army.[61]

The use of black soldiers in the Sudan continued throughout the Egyptian occupation, and the bulk of the garrisons there consisted of regular black infantry and cavalry recruited on a voluntary basis or as slaves from the south. All officers and non-commissioned officers of the original *niẓām* regiments in the Sudan were "Turks" or Egyptians, then gradually Sudanese of long service

were promoted to the ranks of corporal and sergeants. Finally under Khurshīd's administration the earliest Sudanese commissioned officers appear. Muḥammad 'Alī issued orders that if well-instructed, strong and active Sudanese asked for admission as cadets, Khurshīd might enrol them. If they completed their courses of instruction with credit, they could be appointed officers according to military regulations.[62]

Raids were organized to procure men for the army, and there is an example where Aḥmed Pasha, Governor-General of the Sudan (1838-43) imposed a levy of negroes to fill gaps in the black regiments after raids failed to produce a sufficient number. A scale of contributions was drawn up by which each taxable person was required to buy and hand over one or more slaves.[63]

The administration of the Sudan was a purely military one, relying chiefly on the army for the maintenance of its authority over the population. In 1852, the Sudan army numbered 18,000. During the reign of 'Abbās I, (1848-54) the administration of the Sudan continued to recruit from amongst the inhabitants, the blacks, who were fit for service in the army. Each Shaykh or chieftain was urged to supply the government with a number of men for this purpose, and there was evolved the practice of making a specific demand on the chiefs of the tribes and villages to furnish the Khartoum government with a number of adult male slaves as part of their annual taxes.[64]

In Muḥammad Sa'īd's time (1854-63), slaves continued to be taken mainly for the Sudanese regiments and for his bodyguard even after the official prohibition of the slave trade. In 1859 the Viceroy ordered the formation of a personal bodyguard of black soldiers and there arose a great demand in Egypt for the import of negroes. The Cairo merchants made arrangements with ivory traders of the White Nile for the despatch to Egypt of these negroes.[65] Although the Viceroy argued that his bodyguard consisted of conscripts and not slaves, this action had a negative effect on Sa'īd's measures against the slave trade: [66] it gave a new and powerful impetus for the capture of slaves along the White Nile and Baḥr al-Jabal.

An unusual example of the employment of black soldiers outside the Sudan took place in 1863, when Napoleon III asked the Viceroy, Sa'īd Pasha for the loan of a black regiment to fight in the hot, malarious climate of Mexico in support of Maximilian. In January 1863, 447 black troops sailed from Alexandria to Vera Cruz. The Sudanese proved to be excellent fighters against the Mexican rebels, and endured the climate better than their European fellow soldiers.[67]

During the Governor-Generalship of Mūsā Pasha Ḥamdī (1862-65), the Sudan administration - in order to recruit its army - resorted to the old system of recruitment. At first the Governor-General required the *shaykhs* and chieftains to supply him with a certain number of men for his army. When some

chiefs failed to procure sufficient numbers, the Governor-General organised campaigns against the blacks. He conducted most of these campaigns in person. The Sudan army was therefore steadily increased, until in 1865 it reached 27,138 men.[68] A strong force was required in the Sudan to uphold the authority of the government at Khartoum and along the White Nile, and to guard against any hostile move on the part of the Abyssinians. Yet apart from this, especially under the Khedive Ismā'īl, (1863-79), the existence of this force enabled the Governor-Generals to enforce the government measures against the slave trade.[69]

During the 1860's and 1870's slaves who were manumitted in Egypt were enlisted in the army, and those who had tried to achieve their manumission through the British consulates were sent by the authorities to the army.[70] This arrangement provided a solution to the problem of liberated slaves.

Agricultural Slaves.

The use of slaves for agricultural purposes in Islamic history was limited, and the number involved small compared to the total number of slaves. Mediaeval Islām seems scarcely to have known the system of large-scale rural slavery based on large and anonymous slave labour-forces. One big attempt along these lines, was however, undertaken by the 'Abāssids in order to revitalize the lands of Irāq by bringing the salt-swamps at the mouth of Tigris and Euphrates in Mesopotamia under cultivation.[71] This ended, during the second half of the 9th century, in the terrible fifteen year long revolt (868-883) of the *Zanj*[72] who had been imported from the east coast of Africa for the project. Some of the surviving slaves fled to Baḥrain where they formed the nucleus of 30,000 slaves used as agricultural workers there in the 10th century. New major experiments with large-scale plantation slavery are unknown in the area.

In 19th century Egypt, agricultural slavery seems to have been a new phenomenon which was the result of an unusual expansion of cultivated land and a shortage of manpower.[73] Throughout the century, the large viceregal estates of Muḥammad 'Alī's family were to a large extent worked by slaves. It was estimated in 1869, that Khedive Ismā'īl and his family had 2,000 to 3,000 slaves on their main estates as well as hundreds more in their sugar plantations in Upper Egypt.[74] Also public irrigation work in connection with agriculture was sometimes undertaken by slaves.[75]

In the 1860's there was a tremendous expansion of agriculture and a cotton boom consequent to the American Civil War, which led to ordinary *fallaḥīn* sometimes acquiring slaves to assist them in their agriculture. A British Consular Agent, who visited the slave markets in Cairo and Ṭanṭa in 1867, thought that at any one time there were probably about 3,000 slaves on sale

secretly at Cairo, and that from 1,500 to 2,000 were exhibited at the fair of Ṭanṭa.[76] He reported that most of the slaves sold at that time were for agricultural labour, the principal buyers were peasants: "The peasantry of Egypt who suddenly gained extraordinary sums of money for their cotton during the American Civil War, spent some of their profits in the purchase of slaves to help them in the cultivation fo their lands . . . , nearly all the slaves who had applied at Mansourah for emancipation were agricultural, not domestic slaves".[77] Besides, the farmers who were well off and could afford to buy a slave or two, often tried to evade the *corvée* by sending their slaves instead: "The Fellahs, or farmer population, are glad to have the means of sending, as substitudes for themselves and children when summoned by the Government to forced labour, slaves bought at the slave marts".[78]

In the provinces of Asyūṭ and Isnā in Upper Egypt, landowners and peasants seem to have kept slaves to perform agricultural work throughout the century. From the returns of the Manumission Offices, most of the 2,124 freed slaves from Isnā in 1885-86, were agricultural slaves.[79]

The final spurt, which slavery had experienced during the cotton boom, declined during the last decades of the century as a free labour market developed. The emergence of a domestic free labour market in the 1880's gave former slaves and alternative to bondage and free labour proved to be more efficient than slave labour. The increase in the population in the last decades of the century was a key factor in this.

In 19th-century Sudan the riverain economy of the north based agricultural production on slave labour, but although most of the slaves were rural workers, they did not work on large plantations. The number of slaves which a landowner would normally own varied between twenty and two hundred.[80] There are no estimates of the northern Sudan slave population during the 19th century. By inference, however, from similar societies elsewhere under equivalent socio-economic conditions, it could have been an overall 20-30%. Cattle nomadic groups had a great number of household (particularly women) slaves, and others (mainly men) performing their agricultural tasks, in all perhaps 40% of the total society. Camel nomads would be 8-12% slave peoples. Riverain farming communities would be 15-25% slaves, and at least 15-20% of town and urban area populations were in slave capacities.[81]

In Dār Fūr, slaves were employed by the sultans and others as settled agricultural labourers. Members of the ruling family seem to have had slaves as labourers on their estates. The sultan owned slave settlements throughout the state. The inhabitants of the royal estates had the duty of supplying the court with food.[82]

Rainland agriculture involved movement and resettlement and the agriculture cycle was seasonally labour intensive, weeding particularly being a

crucial time. Scarcity of people made the acquisition of manpower a pressing need for both the sultans and the notables, one solution to which was the settlement of captives and slaves within the state. Many of the Fūr are said to be descendants of slave groups settled in Jabal Marra and the west of Dār Fūr by the sultans.[83]

The nomads of Dār Fūr and Kurdufān used their slaves as herders and to produce food as a security against want within the nomadic cycle. Animal husbandry and cultivation was done mainly by slaves; agricultural labour was regarded by the nomads as degrading work, fit only for slaves. The use of slaves among the Baqqāra of Dār Fūr was highly-developed; not only did they have a constant influx of new domestic slaves but they also controlled servile or semi-servile communities of Mandala or Bandala. These were old-established Fartīt colonies, who cultivated the land for their owners but otherwise lived separately.[84] They identified themselves closely with their masters in their names, dress and customs, and fought along side them.[85] The importance of slavery to the nomads was clearly demonstrated by the tenacity with which they resisted the antislavery measures of the first years of the Condominion rule.

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CHAPTER II

THE SLAVE TRADE

Supply Areas and Trade Routes.

The major currents for the African slave trade to Egypt in the 19th century were the natural highways of the Nile and the Red Sea, and the much frequented caravan routes that, traversing the deserts at no great distance to the west of the Nile, found their way either to Asyūṭ or to Cairo. At the beginning of the 19th century the annual caravan from Dār Fūr was the largest of all caravans reaching Egypt, and its principal merchandise was black slaves, both male and female. This caravan started from Kobbei, the commercial capital of Dār Fūr, and moved northward across the Libyan desert along the *darb al-arba'īn* or "the forty days road", until it reached Asyūṭ in Upper Egypt. Caravans using that route passed through several oases and springs along the way: these were Suwaynī, Laqiyya, Salīma, Bāris and Khārjā.[1] The journey was wholly by land and the length of the road was about 1,100 miles. The average time of the journey was forty days, but big caravans could take much longer, and smaller ones took less. The caravans remained from one to five months at Asyūṭ; then they generally proceeded to Cairo where the price was higher with such portions of slaves and cargo as they could not dispose of at Asyūṭ.[2]

R.S. O'Fahey, the historian of Dār Fūr, argues that by the end of the 17th century the slave trade from Dār Fūr to the Nile and Egypt seems to have been well established. With the growth of trade opportunities in Dār Fūr, the emigration of the people from the Nile valley increased, thus the Ja'aliyyun and Danāqla communities began to appear in the Dār Fūr - Kurdufān region at Kobbei and Suwaynī, at Bāra and al-Ubayyiḍ. This trade was to continue until the downfall of the Sultanate at the time of the Khedive Ismā'īl in 1874.[3]

Unlike Baḥr al-Ghazāl in the mid-nineteenth century, Dār Fūr was not a political no-mans-land and the procuring of slaves was carried out by the Arab cattle nomads of southern Dār Fūr, the Baqqāra, or by raiding parties sponsored by the Sultan. Throughout the 18th century, Dār Fūr was almost continually at war with neighbouring "states"; there was no doubt a steady flow of captives both for trade and for the use of the sultans.

The slave traders and raiders appear to have sought slaves among the pagan tribes who were collectivelly known as "Fartīt". This was simply the Dār Fūr term among a number of pejorative names used by the Muslims to describe

those living to the south of them, who were by definition non-Muslim and suitable for enslavement. Thus the Fartīt tribes lived below the ill-defined southern boundary of Dār Fūr, namely north and south of Baḥr al'Arab and in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl.[4]

According to O'Fahey, the inner hunting grounds of the slavers lay in an arc south and south-west of Dār Fūr, from the western Baḥr al-Ghazāl, through the north-eastern corner of the Central African Republic to south-eastern Chad; here the Fartīt included (going from west to east) the Runga, Kara, Yulu, Kresh, Binga, Banda, Feroge, Shatt and a number of small groups around the copper mining area of Ḥufrat al-Naḥās, the effective southern limit of the sultanate.[5] As the raiders ventured to go further south, and by the mid-eighteenth century they had reached the Mbomu River in what is now the Central African Republic, so Dār Fartīt grew. There are a number of references to expeditions which appear to have ventured very far south from the sultanate. Browne, a British traveller, who had been in Dār Fūr between 1793 and 1796, refers to a journey of forty days south in search for slaves.[6] Likewise, al-Tūnisī who lived in Dār Fūr and Wadāy between 1803-1820, described journeys of thirty to forty days.[7] There is also a description of journeys of similar duration by Barth.[8]

We owe most of our information about slavery and the slave trade in Dār Fūr at the beginning of the 19th century to al-Tūnisī and Browne. Al-Tūnisī has left us a detailed account of the slave raiding system operated from Dār Fūr. The slave trade involving as it did the sultan, the notables of the state, the freemen, the traders and the unfortunate victims, was crucial to the economic life of the state. There seems to have been a class of professional slave raiders who were given permission by the sultan to make a raid into the pagan territories for slaves. Al-Tūnisī records that each year the sultan gave permission for between sixty and seventy raids. Each raiding party was given a particular route to follow and a particular tribe to raid. Such raids could last as long as three months or more. A *zarība*[9] was constructed to which all members of the raiding party brought the slaves they captured.[10] When the raiding party returned to the capital, the leader had to give the sultan a proportion of his slaves and give presents of slaves to those courtiers who had supported his original request to make a raid.

In the 1860's, al-Zubayr Raḥma Mansūr and the Rizayqāt Arabs established a new elite of traders in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl and opened a new over-land route for their slave caravans through Kurdufān,[11] and from that time on most of the slaves who reached Egypt and whose origin had been the pagan tribes south of Dār Fūr, were sold in al-Ubayyiḍ in Kurdufān, whence they were despatched to Khartoum and Egypt. Some slaves still went through Dār Fūr, whence caravans started to Asyūṭ in Egypt.[12]

The second geographical area which supplied Egypt with slaves was Sinnār. The Sinnār caravan actually consisted of several caravans which originated in the different market towns in the central Sudan which was nominally under the rule of the Funj sultans (the predecessors of the Egyptians) whose capital was at Sinnār. Slaves coming by this route were captives taken by raids in the Nūba mountains south of Kurdufān, the Blue Nile and the border lands of Abyssinia, in the perpetual reprisal raids on the tribes beyond the bounds of the Egyptian administration or on those who refused to pay taxes. Some of the Abyssinian slaves who were brought to Egypt, were sold by their own parents and relatives, and many were kidnapped by their own people, and disposed of to the Nūbian *Jallāba* (itinerant traders) who transported them to Egypt. Caravans started at Sinnār or Shandī and proceeded to Berber and from there they traversed the Nūbian desert to Kurusko, Darāw, Isnā, or Aswān in Upper Egypt. The caravans passing through the Nūbian desert paid protection fees to the local tribes, mainly the 'Abābda, who established themselves at either end of the routes, in Berber or Darāw, and escorted the caravans between these two points.[13] Starting from the important market centre of Shandī, the journey to Egypt could take from forty to fifty days. The caravan with which Burckhardt went to the Sudan in 1813, made the trip from Darāw to Shandī in forty-six days.[14]

Furthermore, slave traders of various sorts, amongst them Danaqlā from the northern Sudan, captured slaves, mainly Dinka and Shilluk, who inhabited the areas along the White Nile, Bahr al-Jabal and Baḥr al-Zarāf. Slaves from these areas were also brought to Egypt, but their number was very insignificant compared to the other sources of Dār Fūr and the Nūba mountains.[15]

Other slaves, whose origin was Burnū and Wadāy (the eastern and southern parts of modern Chad), were brought to Egypt through the Western desert and Libya. They came from the Sudanic belt either through Fezzan or on the Kufra-Benghāzi route to Cyrenaica. In the oasis the slaves were allowed to relax for some days after their horrible march through the desert, they were dressed and taught some Arabic before they resumed their march again to the north. Some of these slaves were sold in Benghāzi to Beduins or slave dealers who transported them to Maryūt and Alexandria in Egypt. Another station on the Western desert route to Egypt was the Sīwa oasis, from which caravans continued their journey to Kirdasa near Giza and Cairo.[16]

Another important route by which slaves were brought to Egypt was the Red Sea and the port of Suez. Abyssinian and Sudanese slaves came via the Red Sea ports of Sawākin, Massawa` and Zayla' by boat through the Red Sea (sometimes via Jidda), arriving at Suez in Egypt.[17] This route increased in importance especially in the 1870's when the Egyptian government took effective measures against the slave trade in the Sudan.[18] The Red Sea ports presented then fewer liabilities to interruption than the routes down the Nile Valley.

The Extent of the Trade

It is not easy to form any correct opinion of the slave population of Egypt during the 19th century. There was nothing like any approximate census of slaves, still less could there be of the inhabitants which belonged to the *ḥarīm*, the most inaccessible part of the social organisation in Egypt. However, there are some estimates: in 1815 Burckhardt estimated the slave population at 40,000, and about two decades later four estimates were made which were probably not independent from each other. Mengin put them at 27,500, Consul Campbell at 22,000, while Bowring and Clot Bey estimated them at about 22,000 and 25,000 respectively.[19] According to Bowring there were 6,000 houses in Cairo which had black women and Abyssinians for domestic service; the average being two, which makes 12,000 female slaves. There were probably besides 2,000 male black slaves; and in the army 2,500. Besides there were 2,000 Mamlūks, and 300 Greeks, mostly young men. There were about 3,000 Georgian and Circassian female slaves attached to Turkish families, among them 600 Greeks of the Morea, Candia, and Scio.[20]

As for the Sudan it is still more difficult to come by any figures, although the use of slaves in the northern and western regions of the Sudan was undoubtely very widespread.[21]

There are only estimates of the numbers of African slaves imported into Egypt and the Sudan or captured in the Sudan for sale there or in Egypt in the 19th century, and even these are contradictory and incomplete. These estimates are supported largely by anecdotal evidence and are based on theoretical rather than statistical data. This means that at the moment it is impossible to give any reliable quantative estimate of the number of slaves imported. Browne, for example, states that during his passage through Cairo in 1792 he saw and copied a register book of the *Wakālat al-Jallāba* (central slave market), which indicated the dates and the sizes of the caravans arriving from the interior of Africa since 1735.[22] Dr. Frank of the French Expedition claimed that the Coptic clerks who maintained a register of all the slaves imported and sold, the date of the sale and the names of the seller and buyer, burnt these registers every year.[23] Unfortunately no such register books have been found at later dates, and Browne's copy was lost.

The number of imported slaves, however, seems to have varied from year to year depending on the political situation in the Sudan as well as on the demands in Egypt and other parts of the Ottoman Empire. W.G. Browne, who resided in Dār Fūr for three years, (1793-96), stated that in the caravan with which he travelled through the desert to Cairo in 1796, there were 5,000 slaves.[24]

At the beginning of the 19th century three scholars of the French expedition gave different estimates of the number of slaves imported into Egypt up to

their time. Lapanouse, described a caravan which arrived from Dār Fūr in 1800, with 12,000 slaves and 15,000 camels.[25] He states, however, that this was exceptional and one of the largest caravans ever to come to Egypt.[26] The Dār Fūr caravans seem to have varied in their numbers according to time and circumstances, and some brought only 1,000 slaves.[27] Girard estimated that between 5,000 and 6,000 slaves were brought by the Dār Fūr caravan every year.[28] The Sinnār caravan brought only between 300 and 400 slaves annually.[29] Dr. Frank dismissed all these estimates as exaggerated. He reported that he was informed by the Coptic clerk, who had registered the slaves brought up to Cairo for thirty years, that they hardly had exceeded 4,000 in a year, and even these declined to 1,200 or less after the Mamlūks had raised the taxes on slaves.[30]

Burckhardt, who travelled in Sinnār in 1814, reported that 5,000 slaves were sold annually in the market of Shandī, "of whom 2,500 slaves are carried off by the Souakin (Sawākin) merchants, and 1,500 by those of Egypt: the remainder go to Dongola and The Bedouins, who live to the east of Shendy (Shandī), towards Atbara and the Red Sea", and he afterwords continues, "Souakin upon the whole, may be considered as one of the first slave-trade markets in Eastern Africa; it imports annually from Shendy and Sennaar (Sinnār) from 2,000 to 3,000 slaves, equalling nearly in this respect Esne (Isnā) and Es Siout (Asyūṭ) in Egypt, and Massouah (Massawa) in Abyssinia, where as I afterwards learnt at Djidda, there is an annual transit from the interior of about 3,500 slaves. From these four points, from the southern harbours of Abyssinia, and from the Somauly (Somali) and Mozambique coast, it may be computed that Egypt and Arabia draw an annual supply of 15,000 or 20,000 slaves, brought from the interior of Africa".[31]

In 1820, M.A. Scholz stated that from 5,000 to 7,000 slaves were imported from the Sudan into Egypt.[32] Soon afterwards, however, the number of imported slaves rose rapidly and Prince 'Umar Tūsūn estimated that in 1822-23 about 30,000 Sudanese were brought to Egypt for Muḥammad 'Alī's new army.[33]

Dr. Holroyd, who travelled in Sinnār and Kurdufān in 1837, stated that the Egyptian troops brought into Kurdufān captives to the amount of 7,000 to 8,000 annually, that about half of that number was retained for the army, and that the other half was disposed of to the traders of Shandī and Asyūṭ, that 5,000 negroes were annually brought to Aswān but others were also brought to Egypt from Abyssinia by the Red Sea, and from Dār Fūr by the Desert, and that slaves were brought from Sinnār by three separate routes, in daily arrivals, varying in externt from 5 to 200.[34] Dr. Bowring, who was in Egypt in 1837-38, estimated that the annual importation of slaves into Egypt at from 10,000 to 12,000; that the arrivals in Kurdufān amounted to about the same number, that in 1827, a single caravan brought 2,820 slaves to Asyūṭ

but that in general caravans bring annually between 500 and 5,000 and that slaves infiltrated into Egypt by almost daily arrivals of small numbers, sometimes only enough to fill a single boat on the Nile and generally not more than three or four boat loads together.[35]

But in the next two decades (during the 1840's and 1850's), the number of imported slaves seems to have declined to about 5,000 or less.[36] There was, however, a final spurt of the slave trade to Egypt during the 1860's as result of the cotton boom and the need for agricultural labourers.[37] British Consular agents estimated the annual imports of slaves at between 30,000 and 35,000, about 50% of these came by the Nile and a similar number were brought by the Red Sea and the Dār Fūr-Asyūṭ desert route.[38]

During the 1870's, the import of slaves into Egypt seems to have established itself at a lower level compared the previous decade due to the measures taken against the trade in the Sudan by the Egyptian government. In 1869 about 600 slaves were reported to have come by the Red Sea, and in the early 1870's, ca 1,500 were brought from Dār Fūr and Kurdufān, while in the late 1870's it was estimated that about 2,000 slaves came by way of the Western desert through the Sīwa oasis.[39]

It must be remembered that the importation of slaves into Egypt in the 19th century was only part of the North-East African slave-trade, and not even the biggest part. With regard to the number annually exported from this immense region, which corresponds to what may be geographically called the Nile Basin, the absence of official documents, and the imperfect evidence afforded by the statements of travellers, render it extremely difficult to obtain anything approaching correct estimates. Burckhardt states that Egypt and Arabia drew an annual supply of from 15,000 to 20,000 slaves from the East Sudan and Abyssinia, not including the trade within the Sudan. Besides those procured for the foreign trade, many slaves were retained in the Sudan for domestic and agriculture purposes. Burckhardt states, "I have reason to believe, however, that the numbers exported from Soudan to Egypt and Arabia bear only a small proportion to those kept by the Mussulmen of the southern countries themselves, or in other words, to the whole number yearly derived by purchase or by force from the nations in the interior of Africa. At berber and Shendy there is scarcely a house which does not possess one or two slaves, and five or six are frequently seen in the same family; the great people and chiefs keep them by dozens. As high up the Nile as Sennaar, the same system prevails, as well as westwards to Kordofan, Darfour, and thence towards Bornou. All the Bedouin tribes, also, who surround those countries, are well stocked with slaves. If we may judge of their numbers by those kept on the borders of the Nile, (and I was assured by the traders that slaves were more numerous in those distant countries than even at Shendy), it is evident that the number exported

towards Egypt, Arabia, and Barbary, is very greatly below what remains within the limits of Soudan".[40]

T.F. Buxton, on the other hand, estimated in 1837 that 30,000 slaves were drained off annually by the sea-borne slave-trade from Eastern Africa, and that the northern or the trans-saharan and the Nile portions of the trade were 20,000 slaves per annum.[41]

Schweinfurth reported that in 1868 a customs officer at al-Matamma, (the great market town in Qallabāt), had told him that the annual export of slaves from Abyssinia through this major trade route to the Sudan was 18,000. He also estimated that between 12,000 and 15,000 slaves were exported from the countries to the south of Dār Fūr, and conveyed by the overland route to Kurdufān and thence to Khartoum, or via other routes that lead direct from Dār Fūr. Besides, Schweinfurth thought that the river-borne trade to Khartoum carried 1,000 and 400 to 600 slaves from the upper districts of the White Nile and Baḥr al-Ghazāl annually.[42] R. Pankhurst argues that "well over 25,000 slaves were exported every year (from Abyssinia alone), or about 1,250,000 between 1800 and 1850, some two and half million per century, a high rate when it is considered that the population at the beginning of our period", was about nine million.[43] The 25,000 slaves were exported via the following routes: Massawa` 1,750, Tajūra and Zayla' 6,000, Sudan Frontier 17,100, other parts, 350.[44]

By 1876, although the slave trade down the Nile Valley to Egypt had diminished because of government measures, the trade from north-east Africa across the Red Sea to Arabia was estimated as high as 30,000 slaves annually.[45] Some were kept for domestic service in the Yaman and the Ḥijāz, others were despatched to the Persian Gulf where there were an increased demand as the result of preventive measures at Zanzibar and the east coast.[46] Many slaves were sold to pilgrims at Jidda, but eunuchs and Galla women were still shipped to Egypt and through the Suez Canal to Turkey. Many of these slaves came from the Sudan where the merchants of Jidda had their agents in the markets of Berber, Shandī, Khartoum, Sinnār, Qallabāt, Kasala and al-Ubayyiḍ. Slaves were collected from the *Jallāba* at these places and taken by unfrequented routes to the coast to be shipped across the Red Sea in *dhows*.[47] A similar network existed on the Somali coasts with its various routes stretching deep into the Galla country of southern Abyssinia.[48]

Prices

During the 19th century the prices of slaves varied from year to year and from place to place. First of all slaves were at their cheapest in the Sudan, whence the greater number came, and increased in price and value as they descended the

Nile, being most expensive in Alexandria, the merchants who transported them having been subjected to many taxes as well as other costs on route. In general the price of slaves increased by at least 100% from the Sudan to Cairo.[49]

The other major factor which determined the price was supply and demand. As we have seen, the numbers of imported slaves fluctuated considerably during the century, thus the prices fell when the supply was abundant or the demand low, and vice versa. Dr. Frank, in 1800, commented on slave prices: "It is but barely possible to say anything definite about the price of blacks; it varies infinitely and always in relation to the frequency of caravans, the number of blacks they bring, often in relation to the number of blacks, who had perished during the plague".[50] There was for example a marked decrease in the price of slaves in 1835-1840 due to the increased supply and the glut of the slave markets.[51] During the 1870's however, the prices of slaves went up tremendously, which might be partly attributed to the depreciation of the currency, but which was mainly due to the abolitionist movement which both curbed the slave traffic and made it risky.[52]

Price changes were partly related to currency instability. During the 19th century there were many currencies in use in Egypt, and the shifting internal relationship between them makes it difficult to compare prices. The local currency - the piaster - suffered a continous depreciation throughout the century so that the value of the foreign coins increased.[53]

In the Sudan, it is still more difficult to arrive at any stanardization of the prices or even at any comparisons because the values of different coins varied widely from time to time and from one place to another. Thus estimates given below[54] about prices cannot be used quantatively. They are simply isolated pieces of information from particular places and at particular times.

Other major considerations which influenced the price of slaves were: race (or colour), sex, health, age and training. There were of course individual qualities based on beauty, racial variations within each race, type of service the slave was required for, and previous service, which merited a price above the average. There was a "hierarchy" of slaves based on colour: the highest class was that of the white females; (Circassians and Georgians); next to them were the Abyssinian females; the third class were the negro girls. This hierarchy was always reflected in the price structure. The price of a white slave-girl was usually from three to ten times that of an Abyssinian, while a black girl usually cost about half or two-thirds of an Abyssinian girl, or considerably more if well instructed in the art of cookery.[55] Even though the relative price structure of various kinds of slaves tended to be consistent during most of the 19th century, prices for white and Abyssinian slaves particularly increased after 1870, due to the scarcity of such slaves. According to McCoan, a high-class Circassian female could in 1877 cost a hundred times more than a black,

while the value of an Abyssinian was from seven to ten times higher than that of a black girl.[56]

Apart from race and colour, sex was the major factor in determining the price of slaves. Females were in most cases more valuable than males. Eunuchs were worth two to three times as much as male slaves, and were in most cases more expensive than females of the same race. In the second half of the century, eunuchs reached a very high value. The rigorous prohibition which the law enforced against their production within Egyptian territory had greatly reduced the supply and correspondingly increased their price.[57]

The health of slaves was also important. Ailing slaves were valued from a quarter to one-tenth the price of healthy slaves. This applied to slaves with physical defects such as blindness, near-sightedness, deafness, lack of limbs, etc. Thus the physical examination of slaves was an integral part of the process of pricing. For example, a slave who had survived small-pox, fetched a higher price than the one who had not had the disease. Although pregnancy was considered a defect, pregnant slaves were not always sold for prices outside the norm.[58] Three days' trial were generally allowed to the purchaser, during which time the girls remained in his or in some friend's *ḥarīm,* and the women made their report to him. Snoring, grinding the teeth, or talking during sleep, were commonly considered sufficient reasons for returning her to the dealer.[59]

The age of imported black slaves varied, but the largest proportion were under fifteen years. The slave-traders were most interested in younger slaves because they fetched higher prices than adults. They needed less food during transportation, and the danger of resistance was less. But it was not uncommon to import adults. Slaves over forty years of age, however, were seldom imported as they were practically valueless. All black slaves, both male and female, were divided by the traders, with reference to age into three classes: namely, *khumāsī,*[60] compromising those apparently below ten or eleven years; *sudāsī,*[61] those above eleven and below fourteen or fifteen; *bāligh,* (mature), those of fifteen and upwards. The *sudāsī* were the most esteemed and they fetched the highest price, while the *bāligh* was sold at the lowest price, and there was but a little proportion of this class, because it was thought both in Egypt and Arabia, that no dependance could be placed upon any slave, who had not been brought up in the owner's family from an early age.[62] Thus it was thought that the *sudāsī* were old enough to start working at once, yet young enough for their masters to train them into devoted Muslim servants. Although *khumāsī* slaves, who could be acculturated by their owners were attractive, the risk of their dying before reaching puberty, and the many years they had to be fed, clothed and trained before becoming useful often inhibited their sale. There was a great reluctance to the purchasing of grownup slaves for domestic purposes, even as labourers. Grownup female slaves, however, although past the age of

beauty sometimes sold for higher prices, if they were known to be skilful in working, sewing, cooking, etc.[63]

Trained slaves were more attractive: those trained in commerce and industrial work of any kind were usually sold at above-average prices. The same applied to slaves who were experienced in services performed at public institutions such as baths, or in private households. Thus there were many instances, for example, of skilled cooks being sold at higher prices than those without training.

PRICES OF SLAVES IN CAIRO

1 pound sterling = 100 piasters

ca 1800	black male	185-375	piasters	
	black female	130-340	"	
	eunuch	600-750	"	Frank, *Mémoires,* vol. 4, p. 145
ca 1800	blacks (male and female)	225-340	"	
	Abyssinian (male and female)	360-450	"	Lapanouse, *Mémoires,* vol. 4, pp. 198-99
1813	black male	230-280	"	
	black female	280-375	"	
	eunuch	1,000	"	Burckhardt, p. 330
ca 1830	black female	1,000-2,000	"	
	Abyssinian female	2,000-3,000	"	
	White female	7,500-25,000	"	Lane, p. 186
ca 1835	black female	500-1,000	"	
	Abyssinian female	1,000-1,500	"	
	white female	4,000-12,500	"	Lane, p. 186
ca 1835	eunuch	1,500-3,000	"	Clot Bey, vol. 1, p. 340
1837	black male	800-900	"	Bowring, p. 86

ca 1840	black male	636	piasters	
	black female	893	"	
	Abyssinian male	968	"	
	" female	1,368	"	Walz, p. 374
ca 1845	black male	848	"	
	black female	1,317	"	
	Abyssinian male	1,443	"	
	" female	1,284	"	Walz, p. 374
ca 1850	black male	1,038	"	
	black female	1,118	"	
	Abyssinian male	1,300	"	
	" female	1,352	"	Walz, p. 374
ca 1855	black female	1,444	"	
	Abyssinian male	1,824	"	
	" female	2,250	"	Walz, p. 374
1877	blacks (male and female)	1,000-1,200	"	
	Abyssinian female	7,000-10,000	"	
	white female	50,000-100,000	"	McCoan, p. 327

PRICES OF SLAVES IN SHANDĪ

In 1813 at Shandī 1 Spanish dollar = 3.75 piasters

1814	sudāsī (male) (With the marks of small-pox)	15-16	Sp. dollars
	sudāsī (male) (without small-pox marks)	10	"
	sudāsī (female)	20-25	"
	khumāsī (male)	12	"
	" (female)	15	"

	bāligh (male)	8-10	Sp. dollars	
	" (female)	30	"	
	(with some skills)			Burckhardt, p. 325

PRICES OF SLAVES IN KHARTOUM

In 1837 at Khartoum 1 pound sterling = 100 piasters

1837	A good adult male	400-500	piasters	
	An ordinary adult	150-300	"	
	A male slave from Dinka	70-100	"	
	An Abyssinian boy	600-1,000	"	
	A female adult	200-400	"	
	A female from Dinka	100-200	"	
	An Abyssinian girl	600-1,500	"	Dr. Holroyd, Bowring *Report,* App. E., p. 208.

SLAVE AND HORSE PRICES IN DĀR FŪR

ca 1805	sudāsī (male)	10	dollars
1837	good slave	5-6	"
	horse	10-30	slaves
1862	male slave	8	cows
1874	sudāsī	30	dollars
	good horse	150	"

1879	horse	50-60	dollars	
	good horse	300-400	"	O'Fahey, R.S., *Slavery and Society in Dār Fūr,* Bergen 1977, p. 8.

The price of slaves, however, means little without an idea of the general price and income level in Egypt, only then do we see who was able to buy and keep slaves. Class and income differences were profound in 19th century Egypt. An example of the differential may be seen in the army; a regular soldier had in 1838 a monthly income of 15 piasters, a corporal 25, a sergeant 30, a lieutenant 350, a captain 500, a major 1,200, a colonel 8,000 and a general of brigade 11,000 piasters. The income level among the *fallāḥīn* cannot have been higher than that of ordinary soldiers.[64]

Looking at the prices of some of the most common articles of food in Cairo about 1835, we see the real value of slaves. An *ardabb* of rice (about 198 litres) costed 240 piasters, an *ardabb* of wheat cost from fifty to sixty-three piasters, a donkey-load of firewood costed eleven piasters, coffee cost six to seven piasters per *ratl* (about 450 grams), mutton or lamb meat one piaster per *ratl* and finally one *cantār* of biscuit (about 45 kilos), costed 160 piasters. Thus a black female slave was equivalent to four *ardabbs* of rice (ca. 800 litres), about 450 kilos of mutton meat etc.[65]

Local chiefs and government officials imposed taxes on each caravan which passed through their territory and on crossing the Egyptian-Sudanese frontier. These taxes varied according to the sex, age and race of the slaves, and were often paid in commodities. For example it was not unusual that these taxes were paid to local chiefs in slaves instead of cash, and in such cases the most popular were of course young, preferably Abyssinian girls.

Lapanouse stated that on entering the Egyptian frontier, a tax of three sequins (ca. 15 piastres) was paid per slave,[66] while Frank reported that the *Jallāba* who came to Asyūṭ had to pay a tax of 24-30 franks (17-21 piastres) per slave.[67] By 1813, the Government charged a duty of 60 piastres on every slave imported into Upper Egypt.[68]

According to Bowring, the slaves imported into Egypt paid duties at four places: at Kurdufān the impost was from 20 to 80 piastres, according to their value. At Dunqula, they paid 15 piastres,without any distinction; at Aswān, 34,5 piastres. When they reached Cairo, there was levied a tax of 11 piastres. The average duty on slaves was 105 piastres, taking in all payments.[69] This tax had to be added to the market price of the slaves, and accordingly any fluctuations in the tax level influenced the market price of slaves.

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15. F.O. 84/1181, Colquhoun to Cherif Pasha, Alex. 4.6.1862; F.O. 141/57, Petherick to Colquhoun, Cairo 17.5.1865; Schweinfurth, vol. 2, p. 429; see above, p. 35.
16. Frank, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte,* vol. 4, pp. 135-37; Burckhardt, pp. 322-23; F.O. 84/1397, Stanton to Derby, Alex. 3.9.1875; F.O. 84/1412, Henderson to Derby, Benghazi 24.12.1875; F.O. 141/133, Cookson to Malet, Alex. 17.5.1880; F.O. 141/140, Smith to Malet, Alex. 22.4.1880.
17. Frank, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte,* vol. 4, pp. 133-35; F.O. 84/1246, letter to the Governor of Suez, 9.1.1865; F.O. 84/1305, Raby to Clarendon, Jidda 10.12.1869; F.O. 141/82, Vivian to West, Suez 5.8.1873; see below, pp. 78-79.
18. See below, pp. 64-76.
19. Burckhardt, p. 343; Mengin, vol. 2, p. 137; F.O. 78/408, Campbell, Report on Egypt, 6.7.1840; Bowring, p. 10; Clot Bey, vol. 1, p. 167.
20. A special category of white slaves were the Greek prisoners of war. About 6,000 Greeks were brought to Egypt, during the campaign of Ibrahim Pasha in the Morea (1825-28). Most of them were ransomed by the European communities in Egypt and by the Viceroy himself. By 1839, only 600 females and 300 males remained; most of them had become Muslim. (Bowring, pp.9-10).
21. See above, pp. 24-25.
22. Browne, p. xix.
23. Frank, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte,* vol. 4, p. 136.
24. Browne, p. 249.
25. Lapanouse, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte,* vol. 4, pp. 77, 81.
26. Ibid. p. 81.

27. Browne, p. 246.
28. Girard, P.S., "Memoire sur l'agriculture, l'industrie, et le commerce de l'Egypte", in *Description de l'Egypte,* etat moderne", Paris 1812, vol. 2:1, pp. 632, 637.
29. Lapanouse, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte,* vol. 4, p. 98.
30. Frank, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte,* vol. 4, p. 136; In view of his source, Dr. Frank's estimates would seem to be the most probable at the beginning of the 19th century.
31. Burckhardt, pp. 324, 442-43.
32. Scholz, M.A., *Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexandrien und Parätonium, die libysche Wüste, Siwa, Egypten, Palästine und Syrien in dem Jahren 1820 und 1821,* Leipzig 1822, p. 113.
33. Tūsūn, p. 38.
34. Report of Arthur T. Holroyd, Appendix E in Bowring *Report,* pp. 202-210.
35. Bowring, pp. 85-86.
36. Pruner, F., *Aegypten's Naturgeschichte und Anthropologie,* Erlagen 1847, p. 68; Von Kremer, vol. 2, pp. 11, 86.
37. Baer, G., *Studies in the Social History of Modern Egypt,* "Slavery and its abolition", Chicago 1969, p. 171; see above, pp. 23-24.
38. In 1866, Consul Stanton estimated that 10,000 slaves came by the desert route, and another number came by the Nile. In 1867, Consul Reade stated that "It is a matter of public notoriety that from 10,000 to 15,000 slaves are annually brought down the Nile to Cairo, while an equal or even greater number find their way to Sowakin and the Red Sea". (F.O. 84/1260, Stanton to Clarendon, Alex. 9.5.1866; F.O. 84/1277, Reade to Stanley, 9.8.1867.
39. F.O. 84/1305, Raby to Clarendon, Report on the Slave Trade, Jidda 10.12.1869; F.O. 141/121, Borg to Vivian, Cairo 23.8.1878; F.O. 141/138, Cookson to Malet, Alex. 17.5.1880.
40. Burckhardt, pp. 343-44.
41. Buxton, T.F., *The African Slave Trade,* London 1939, *The Remedy: Being a Sequel to the African Slave Trade,* London 1840, pp. 69-70.
42. Schweinfurth, vol. 2, pp. 428-29.
43. Pankhurst, pp. 82-84.
44. Pankhurst uses the Schweinfurth figure of 18,000 as one of the most important factors in computing an average of 25,000. In view of the numbers of slaves reported by travellers at other markets in the Sudan, however, the figure of 17,100 at Qallabāt included in Pankhurst's 25,000 seems to be far too high.
45. F.O. 84/1450, Memo by A.B. Wylde, 25.11.1876; F.O. 84/1472, Vivian to Derby, 26.5.1877, enclos. reports of Commander Morice Bey to Cherif Pasha.
46. On 5 June 1875, the Sultan of Zanzibar signed a treaty with Britain, abolishing all slave trading through his dominions. (Coupland, Sir Reginald, *The Exploitation of East Africa 1856-1890; The Slave Trade and The Scramble,* London 1939, pp. 280-86.
47. Native sailing boats.

48. F.O. 84/1450, Memo by A.B. Wylde, 25.11.1876; F.O. 84/1472, Vivian to Derby, 26.5.1877, enclos. reports of Commander Morice Bey to Cherif Pasha.
49. Bowring, p. 90; Burckhardt, pp. 324-25.
50. Frank, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte,* vol. 4, p. 145.
51. Bowring, p. 88.
52: See above, pp. 38-39.
53. Walz, T., *Trade between Egypt and Bilād As-Sūdān 1700-1820,* Boston 1975, p. 377.
54. See above, 39-41.
55. Lane, p. 186.
56. McCoan, p. 327.
57. Ibid.
58. Walz, pp. 213-14.
59. Lane, p. 188.
60. A five-span slave.
61. A six-span slave.
62. Burckhardt, pp. 324-25.
63. Burckhardt, pp. 324-25; Lane, p. 186; Mc Coan, p. 327.
64. Bowring, pp. 210-12.
65. Lane, pp. 568-70.
66. Lapanouse, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte,* vol. 4, pp. 88-89.
67. Frank, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte,* vol. 4, p. 134.
68. Burckhardt, p. 306.
69. Bowring, p. 85.

CHAPTER III

ABOLITION TALK AND INCREASING SLAVE TRADE

Ivory and Slaves on Baḥr al-Jabal and Baḥr al-Ghazāl, 1835 - 63.

Efforts to abolish the slave trade and slavery in Egypt and the Sudan were a result of European, primarily British, initative. The first serious attempts to tackle the problem were made in the late 1830's, when Dr. John Bowring first visited Egypt, and Dr. Arthur Holroyd went to the Sudan to report about the slave trade in the Nile Valley. Their reports were warmly welcomed in anti-slavery circles in Britain. Thomas Buxton, who had succeeded Wilberforce as the leader of the humanitarian group in Parliament, was interested in their reports, and through the 1830's and 1840's worked and agitated for the abolition of the slave trade in Africa.

In 1837, Bowring together with Campbell, the British Consul, held several meetings with Muḥammad 'Alī on the question of the slave trade. They insisted on behalf of the British Government, that the practice of raids to capture slaves should altogether cease; that the Sudan officials should stop trading in slaves and that the troops in the Sudan should not be paid in slaves.[1] These initiatives had far-reaching consequences in particular with regard to the Baḥr al-Jabal and Baḥr al-Ghazāl districts. Slave raiding did not stop but moved further south; and European traders played a very active role in the new developments.

Muḥammad 'Alī was apparently receptive to the Englishmen and he sent orders to the Governor of the Sudan, Khurshīd Pasha, to the effect that the Government troops should not be employed in the capture of negroes, and their wages should not be paid in slaves.[2] The Viceroy declared that he was not in favour of slavery itself and desired its abolition little-by-little, but that the prejudices of the people were great obstacles in his way.[3]

After the Egyptian conquest, Khartoum became the symbol of the new regime and it developed from a small fishing village to the Egyptian military and administrative headquarters. In 1839 it was formally declared the capital of the Sudan. As a prominent trading centre, Khartoum attracted several thousand Danaqlā and Ja'aliyyun, whose tribes inhabited the cultivated riverain areas south of Wādi Halfa, as well as many Levantine and European merchants and adventurers. It had by that time already gained a notoriety for being one of the leading markets for the sale and purchase of slaves and ivory.[4]

In 1838 Muḥammad 'Alī visited the Sudan. There were conflicting reports in Cairo of the existence of gold mines in the mountains south of Sinnār and Muḥammad 'Alī decided to investigate the matter personally, hoping to initiate extensive mining which would solve his financial difficulties. The result was disappointing because gold was not produced on a commercial scale. Muḥammad 'Alī, however, was able to see the damages caused by the recruiting raids. He issued orders that the government troops should not undertake any slave raids in the future and ordered the release of 500 prisoners, who had been taken by the governor-general, Aḥmed Pasha after a punitive expedition against a rebel negro tribe.[5] His action abviously received favourable publicity in Europe, and at the anti-slavery convention in London on 16 June 1840, Bowring spoke in favourable terms about the Viceroy's desire to suppress the slave trade.[6]

However, at the time the adequacy of the measures against the slave trade and their execution were doubtful, to say the least. Slavery was a domestic phenomenon in the Sudan and was not regarded by the Sudanese as an institution to be condemned. In Egypt and the Sudan, slavery was interwoven into the social fabric of both countries and its abolition would have involved nothing short of a social revolution.

Though the raids may have stopped while Muḥammad 'Alī was in the Sudan, as soon as he left, they were resumed and so it is clear that Muḥammad 'Alī's measures did not seriously affect the slave trade. Above all, recruits were still needed for the army and in reply to representations made by the British Consul-General in Cairo, the Pasha declared that blacks were taken by force in Sinnār because he had no other means of recruiting the regiments which he was obliged to keep in that country; about the importation of slaves into Egypt, the Pasha said that it was difficult to break through the habits of the higher orders in Egypt and to do away with slaves.[7]

Muḥammad 'Alī's visit thus had little or no practical effect on the slave trade in the Sudan, and the plans for the exploitation of gold-mining did not materialise. His visit, however, resulted in the opening up of the Equatorial regions of the Sudan for exploration and for the ivory and the slave traders from the north.

Before he returned to Egypt, the Viceroy ordered preparations to be made for the despatch of expeditions for the exploration of the White Nile. Between November 1839 and March 1842, expeditions, under the command of the Sea-Captain Salīm Qabūdān, were ordered by Muḥammad 'Alī to sail up the White Nile, to explore the sources of the White Nile. The explorers managed to reach 4° L. N. The important result of these expeditions was the establishment of Gondokoro as the most southern post of Egypt at that time.[8] Although Salīm's expeditions did not discover the sources of the Nile, it had far-reaching consequences on the development of trade in general and the slave trade in particular, it opened a new and fresh field for the traders of Khartoum.

Although Muḥammad 'Alī had not ordered further large-scale expeditions to the White Nile, during the 1840's, the Governor of the Sudan dispatched small annual trading enterprizes from Khartoum consisting of four to seven boats, which obtained ivory from the riverain tribes. Their profits aroused the interest of the European traders at Khartoum, who found themselves frustrated by the Governor's desire to maintain an exclusive control over the trade of the area, as part of his general economic policy of maintaining a Government monopoly over key trade-items. The traders appealed to their respective Consuls for the removal of this monopoly which eventually resulted in these traders getting unobstructed access to the southern Sudan.[9]

Brun Rollet, a Savoyard merchant, seems to have been the first European to penetrate these areas to trade with the natives. He is reported to have come to the Sudan in 1831 in the service of a Frenchman, who was engaged in the slave trade. In 1839, he was supplied with merchandise and credit to trade on the White Nile, by Joyce Thurnburn and Company, a British firm established in Alexandria.[10] Together with Lafargue, a French veterinary officer who had accompained Salīm's second expedition, he was allowed to sail with the Governor's trading expedition in 1844. The following year, Brun Rollet sailed from Khartoum with two boats, but he was forced to hand over the ivory he had collected to the government boats. He reported the incident to the Sardinian Consul-General. The conflict was thus transferred to the plane of Consular action in Egypt and it started the process of gradual encroachment by which the European Powers gained extra-territorial rights and a privileged position in Egypt. In 1838 the Porte signed a treaty regulating monopolistic practices in the Ottoman Empire, but Muḥammad 'Alī ignored this treaty and continued to practise the monopoly until the beginning of 1849 when it was finally abolished in the Sudan.[11]

It was primarily the lure of ivory which attracted the traders to the area. The products manufactured from it, chiefly knife-handles, combs, billiard balls, and piano-keys, had an assured and rapidly expanding markets in Europe. Between the 1840's and 1870's both the price of ivory on the London market and the quantity imported more than doubled. Africa was by far the most important source of these supplies and the most valuable kind, and it came from the central and eastern part of the continent.

Austria had a Consular-Agent in Khartoum, while Britain and Sardinia were represented by two Vice-Consuls, Petherick and Vaudey. Both were typical examples of European traders. A Welsh mining engineer, John Petherick had been engaged by Muḥammad 'Alī to report about the coal mines in Kurdufān; he then became interested in the gum trade. In 1850 he was appointed British Vice-Consul. At the same time he was allowed to travel three months of the year in pursuit of his trade activities. In the middle of 1851 he joined the ivory

trade on the White Nile, and subsequently made several successful expeditions in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl. After establishing himself as a successful ivory trader, he obtained, in 1859, full Consular powers while continuing to pursue his activities as an ivory trader. He applied for the intervention of the British Government with Egyptian authorities to allow him to import great quantities of firearms and ammunition for his two hundred men located "amongst turbulant and warlike tribes". The demand for ammunition, seems to have shaken the confidence of the British Government in him as Consul. In 1864 Petherick was dismissed from office and the Consulate was finally abolished.[12]

Yet the demands of Petherick for arms signalled the beginning of a change in the situation along the White Nile. It pointed to a change in the nature of the activities pursued by the traders in those regions, and to the quick and tremendous expansion of the slave trade along the Baḥr al-Jabal and Baḥr al-Ghazāl.

Alexandre Vaudey, a Savoyard like Brun Rollet, had been in the employ of the Egyptian Government 1837-49. With John Petherick, he was engaged in the gum arabic trade in Kurdufān in 1850. After a visit to Europe during which he was appointed Sardinian Vice-Consul to the Sudan, he brought with him his two young nephews Ambroise and Jules Poncet. He had also obtained a promise of credit from Joyce Thurburn Company in London with the intention of joining the ivory trade of the White Nile. Vaudey's project for the commerce of the White Nile was an example of the great expectations which ivory had aroused.[13]

Between 1844 and 1854, the ivory traders had persistently and successfully endeavoured to remove the government monopoly of the White Nile trade and to secure freedom of navigation and commerce along the river. Ostensibly their main object was ivory but at least from 1854 onwards the ivory traders became deeply implicated in the slave trade as well.

There were a number of reasons for this change. After the opening up of the White Nile, the ivory traders of Khartoum had discovered a new field for their activity. They found the hunting of elephants in the regions of the White Nile, Baḥr al-Ghazāl, and the Sobat River, a profitable business.The high prices fetched by the ivory led the traders to organise regular expeditions for hunting elephants. The real problem, however, was that the traders needed food for their men, while they were breaking into a closed market economy - e.g. the locals were self-sufficient. Instead of establishing a trading cycle according to the doctrine of so-called "legitimate trade", the incoming traders went into a raiding cycle. The natives became extremely hostile against the Khartoum traders. At last their hostility was violently demonstrated in April 1854, when an ivory trader, the Sardinian Consul Vaudey, his nephew and fifteen of their men were killed by the Bari.[14]

In the course of time the number of elephants decreased, and the natives' stocks of elephant tusks were depleted. The traders could no longer meet the expenses of their expeditions without the handsome profit that could easily be made by trafficking in slaves. All along they had probably allowed their Arab servants to hunt slaves as part of their pay and sell them in Khartoum. When the ivory began to disappear, the traders found it more profitable to hunt slaves instead of elephants. Moreover, additional profit was derived by the sale at Khartoum of the negroes who were employed during the expedition as porters for the conveyance of ivory. Tribal disputes were exploited by the traders who enticed the native chiefs to fight one another. The traders then exchanged the captives of the victor for quantities of beads, glassware and similar articles.[15]

Alphonse de Malzac, a French ivory trader who was for some time an associate of Petherick's in the ivory trade, established a *zarība* on the Baḥr al-Jabāl, north of Gondokoro in 1856, and his search for ivory became ever more closely bound up with the extension of violence and the capture of slaves. F. de Lesseps, who had accompained Sa'īd Pasha to Khartoum in January 1857, had a long interview with de Malzac, who reported that he needed five hundred porters to transfer his ivory from the interior to the river. His contemporaries confirmed that his success was achieved only by agression and violence. He exploited tribal wars and the raids on hostile tribes, using his armed Arab troops, became an integral part of the ivory trade as they produced cattle and slaves, which began to occupy an essential place in the traders' profits.[16]

The growth of the ivory trade led to the increase of the use of armed Arab servants. In the summer of 1857 de Malzac, who had previously employed only 60 men at his station, prepared at Khartoum an expedition which consisted of three boats and about three hundred armed men and involved a capital of 120,000 Fr. Between 1851 and 1856 the quantity of ivory collected by the traders had more than trebled. By 1856, the dozen boats involved in the ivory trade had increased to over forty, and in 1859 about eighty left Khartoum for the White Nile. The increase in the quantity of ivory grew rapidly at first: by 1856 Petherick reported that the 400 *canṭārs* of 1851 had increased to 1,400 *canṭārs*[17] or upwards. By 1863, although the number of boats had again trebled, rising to 240 boats, the quantity of ivory had merely increased from 1,400 *cantārs* to 2,000.[18]

The scramble for ivory led to a decrease in the number of elephants and thus the disappearance of tusks. The capture of slaves presented itself as a solution to cover part of the expenses of the White Nile ivory traders. This kind of activity enabled them to obtain the services of their armed men at a very low or neglible cost. The traders had learned to give their servants slaves in lieu of pay. These slaves ostensibly being captured in the raids on "hostile tribes".[19]

The profits of the traders thus became dependent on the capture of slaves. This was demonstrated by the career of de Malzac. He paid his soldiers in slaves, each slave being the equivalent of three months pay. Many of the women became wives of the Arabs, some of their children were trained to be their assistants, and others were resold to traders to be taken northwards on the Nile and to Khartoum, where they were sold at more than double the price at which they were acquired. In this de Malzac's example was followed by others. In letters to his Consul-General in Cairo, Josef Natterer, the Austrian Consular Agent at Khartoum, described with eye-witness accounts several examples of the traders activity. There is evidence that by 1860, most of the traders of the White Nile had a stake in the slave trade and in 1864 it was thought in Khartoum that all traders on the White Nile permitted their "agents to seize and sell slaves being well aware of the fact and indirectly partners in the profits."[20] Some slave dealers traded also in slaves directly on their own account.

At the time when the ivory traders were exercising their exploitation on the Baḥr al-Jabal, the area of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl and its hinterland was being exposed to a similar development. Salīm's first expedition entered Lake No but failed to find the channel of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl river to the west because of the swamps. They had to content themselves with the discovery of the Baḥr al-Jabal. It seems that the first person to sail in Baḥr al-Ghazāl after the Egyptian conquest was a trader from Khartoum called al-Ḥabashī (1854). He was followed by many merchants, the most well known were the Egyptians Muḥammad al-'Aqqād, 'Alī Abū 'Amūrī, Maḥjūb al-Buṣaylī, the Copt Ghaṭṭās, the Turk Kushūk 'Alī and a Dunqulāwī called Idrīs Abṭar, etc.[21] Some European traders also ventured to sail into Baḥr al-Ghazāl in pursuit of trade. In 1856, Brun Rollet and John Petherick sailed as far as the end of the navigable part of the river, landing in Mashrā' al-Rayk. From there, the traders led small groups of armed men - with a few Dinka to act as porters and guides - into the interior until they reached the Luo and Bongo tribes. Amongst these scattered agricultural communities, the merchants left behind some of their armed men to purchase ivory from the locals while the merchants returned to Khartoum. Petherick, for example established a settlement or *zarība* amongst the Luo tribe. The transactions of ivory and provisions took place in the surrounding Luo villages.[22]

At first, the traders dealt in ivory, ostrich feathers and gum arabic but later on they found out that hunting of slaves was easier and more profitable than normal trading. Thus they concentrated on the slave trade and formed armies to help them for this purpose. They usually established *zarības* in the vicinity of negro villages. They bartered beads, spears, cowries and other goods which were in demand in these areas for ivory and ostrich feathers, etc. They

stored these goods in the *zarības* until they found an opportunity to attack the people of the village with their guns. They usually captured the survivors and marched them to the *zarība,* enlisting the fittest in their armies, and the rest were sold together with ivory to the slavers. They sometimes enticed the negro chiefs to fight one another and took the prisoners of the victor to their settlements.[23]

George Schweinfurth, the German explorer who arrived in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl in 1869, was an eye-witness of events in the area. Schweinfurth reported that by his time each trading establishment in Baḥr al-Ghazāl needed 2,000 cattle a year as provisions. The vast plains of the Dinka grazing grounds with its thousands of cattle were raided for cattle which the traders bartered for ivory in the interior. Ghaṭṭās, the Coptic merchant, carried out raids over the whole lower bank of the river Tonj. In 1868, his men took 800 oxen. The natives, however, specifically the Dinka used to retreat with their cattle to inaccessible areas and were becoming adversaries to be reckoned with, and in April 1869 the chief *zarība* on the river Rohl was abandoned after all its garrison of a hundred men had been killed during a raid against it by the Dinka.[24]

Between the Dinka and the Azande, the whole country was occupied at intervals of five to six leagues with settlements of the Khartoumers in their palisaded *zarības* and from the River Rohl north-westwards to the River Lol there stretched a series of more than eighty of these stations. The area was divided between several wealthy merchants, each of whom had several subsidiary *zarības* linked with the principal ones. An example of this was the *zarība* of Ghaṭṭās. It contained a resident armed force of 250 men; with their numerous wives and attendants they amounted to about one thousand persons. They were surrounded by Bongo, Luo and Dinka villages, and the fertile land for two miles round the station was partitioned into fields which supplied the greater part of the grain needed by the garrison. Throughout the areas controlled from the *zarības,* inhabitants of the agricultural communities had either to retreat to the Azande and Dinka areas or to submit to the traders demands and accordingly they were reduced to a state of vassalage. They supplied the stations with food and were forced to act as porters while accompanying the traders who penetrated deeper and deeper into the interior of the country.[25]

West of Baḥr al-Jabal to the south of Dār Fūr, however, the outside world had been in contact with the frontiers long before the discovery of the river route of Baḥr al-Ghazāl and there the slave trade had been going on for generations. At the end of the 18th century when Browne was in Dār Fūr, he reported that small expeditions were penetrating into the pagan lands to the south via Ḥufrat en-Naḥās.[26] Some of these expeditions were large scale military raids aimed at the capture of slaves and plunder. But usually they consisted of

jallāba, who exchanged beads, copper and Egyptian cotton cloth for ivory and slaves with the Kreish and the northern Azande. The activities and penetration of these *jallāba* did not depend on armed force and did not involve the subjugation of the people. The Arab trader was usually forced to pay tolls to local chiefs for the goods he carried when passing through his territory. This situation, however, began to change about the mid 1850's when the traders of Khartoum started to penetrate into the area through the opening of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl to the river-borne trade from Khartoum. In 1856, some Khartoum *jallāba* joined the traders of Baḥr al-Ghazāl. Soon afterwards Idrīs Abṭar, a trader from Dunqula in the north established a *zarība* on the river Pongo and later became a partner in 'Aqqād's firm. He was followed by others and in 1862 it was learned in Khartoum that expeditions from that area had penetrated as deep into the interior as the Mbomu river and the traders at that time with the large forces at their hands could subdue the Kreish tribes, who had previously been able to tax the *jallāba*.[27]

The *zarība* system enabled the *jallāba* to travel freely in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl. Hundreds of them descended from Dār Fūr and Kurdufān on the area. In 1870, Schweinfurth estimated that there were 2,000 permanent residents in the *zarības*, and a further 2,700 had arrived in the same year.[28] Nachtigal, another German explorer, maintained there were at least 5,000 *jallāba* households in Dār Fūr, most of whom had come from places in the northern Sudan such as Dunqulā and Berber, and some also from as far as Morocco.[29] Most of *jallāba* invested their capital in a mule which they loaded with cotton-cloth, cheap firearms and other goods needed by the Arab soldiers. When they arrived in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl, they bartered the animal and the goods with the *zarība* settlers for four or five slaves. They marched the slaves northwards across the desert and sold them at their final destination, if they survived the horrors of the march. Other *jallābas* came to the area as agents of Kurdufān and Dār Fūr slave traders, and collected slaves from such tribes as the Azande, Mangbetu and the Bongo.[30] But the vast majority of the slaves who were exported were derived from beyond Dār Fartīt.[31] For decades this area had been the hunting grounds for the Dār Fūr slavers, and with the advent of the Khartoum traders, this process had increased. Some of the traders conducted direct slave raids on their account, others, obtained them through local chiefs. Idrīs Abṭar, for example, obtained slaves through Mukpoi, a northern Azande chief who received from the traders firearms and ammunition and trade-goods in return of thousands of slaves whom he had obtained by raids on the surrounding "slave tribes".[32]

In the 1856, al-Zubayr Raḥma al-Manṣūr was in the process of founding a "kingdom", which was supported by the overland slave trade. A Ja'lī Arab, who had been educated in Khartoum, al-Zubayr left for Baḥr al-Ghazāl in 1856. After several journeys, he married a daughter of Tikima, who was a powerful

Azande chief, and established a *zarība* in Baḥr al-Ghazāl, which became known as Daym al-Zubayr. It was strategically situated to control the overland trade from the Baḥr al-Ghazāl and from the southern Zande territories. In 1866, al-Zubayr established an alliance with the Rizayqāt Arabs, a cattle-owning tribe inhabiting the area north of Baḥr al-'Arab, and thus opened the Kurdufān overland route for his slave caravans between the Baḥr al-Ghazāl and Kurdufān because of the activities of the river patrols on the Nile.[33]

Al-Zubayr maintained a fighting force of a thousand armed men at his *zarība,* which was surrounded by hundreds of farmsteads, and had the aspect of a town in the Sudan. In one year he exported probably as many as 1,800 slaves to Kurdufān, which would had fetched about £ 8 each at Khartoum or about £ 14,400 while at the same time he exported ivory which was worth only £ 2,300 that year.[34] Al-Zubayr subsequently grew in power and he was to play a prominent role in the history of the Sudan. Thus throughout the Baḥr al-Jabal and Baḥr al-Ghazāl, a new caste of traders established themselves in the 1860's which was accompanied by increasing Arab settlers. The quest for ivory did not bring legitimate trade but increase and intensification of the slave trade.

It is impossible to establish the number of slaves procured and exported from these vast regions and along different routes. Schweinfurth, however, estimated that slaves derived from the upper district of the White Nile (Baḥr al-Jabal), inclusive of the Albert and Victoria Lakes, though the slave trade really began at latitude 5° N., had not exceeded 1,000 in the most favourable years. The expedition of Sir Samuel Baker had stopped this source. The supply of slaves in the upper district of Baḥr al-Ghazāl was chiefly derived from the Bongo, "Mittoo," and "Babuckur". Between the years 1857 and 1869, the Baḥr al-Ghazāl was not navigated by more than twenty boats every year. On their return journey the soldiers of the ivory merchants carried their own slaves with them as payment and perquisites. But it was very rare for a boat to carry more than twenty or thirty of these slaves, so that the annual transport of slaves to Khartoum by this route did not exceed 400 to 600. Thus it may be seen that even before Sir Samuel Baker's expedition put a stop to it altogether, the slave trade that was carried on down the river was quite insignificant compared to the overland traffic. For years there had been a public prohibition against bringing slaves down the White Nile into Khartoum, and ever and again stronger repressive measures had been introduced, which however, only had the effect of raising the land traffic to a premium.[35]

As we have already seen, the great source of the slave trade was to be found in the negro-countries to the south of Dār Fūr, which were included under the name of Dār Fartīt.[36] The natives, who for the last forty years had been exposed to the rapacity of the slave-dealers, and had been exported to

the number of from 12,000 to 15,000 souls annually,[37] belonged to the Kreish tribes, but the great bulk of the slaves came from the western Azande territories, where the powerful King Mofio carried off on his own account, from the neighbouring nations who were not Azande, large number of slaves, and sold them to the *jallābas,* by whom they were conveyed by the overland routes across Kurdufān, or directly to Dār Fūr, and Egypt. Kurdufān was in many ways in direct communication with the most important markets of the slave trade such as Sinnār, Khartoum, and Berber whence the slaves either crossed the great Nūbian desert to Egypt or kept farther to the east across the Red Sea.[38]

Official Measures against the Slave Trade and Slavery.

There is no doubt that legislation against the slave trade was among the more important causes for the abolition of slavery in Egypt. Since the 1840's steps had been taken to suppress the slave trade in Turkey. The firmān of 1841, which regulated relations between Egypt and the Sublime Porte, had stipulated - upon pressure from the Powers at Constantinople - that the evil practices which contributed to the perpetuation of the slave trade in the Sudan should altogether cease.[39]

In the late 1840's, Britain obtained concessions from Constantinople after strong representations had been made against the extensive white slave trade across the Black Sea, and black slaves from North Africa. In 1847, the Ottoman Government agreed to prohibit its ships from taking part in the slave trade in the Persian Gulf and they closed the slave markets in Constantinople. They prohibited the white slave traffic altogether in October 1854,[40] and in January 1857 a firmān outlawed the trade in black slaves throughout the Ottoman Empire.[41] A religiously-motivated reservation exempted the province of the Ḥijāz, where the people's feeling ran high, slave dealing was extensive, and where the Sultan's control was in any case nominal. Elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, it was still legal to own slaves, but not to buy and sell them; in other words slavery was still permitted. The declared aim of the firmān however, was the eventual extinction of slavery itself throughout the Sultan's dominions. Now through British pressure in Constantinople, the Porte desired the suppression of the slave trade in Egypt and the Sudan. Subsequent to the abolition of the trade in negro slaves, a special firmān, which was apparently intended to bring Egypt into line with the Ottoman State, was sent to Sa'īd Pasha in 1857, stating that former orders to suppress the slave trade had been ignored and demanding the immediate suppression of the trade.[42]

During the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī (1805-48), no legislation had been issued against the slave trade. The Pasha declared to the foreign Consuls that he

was personally in favour of the abolition of slavery, but that he could not do anything about it because it was in conformity with custom and because of the prejudices of the upper classes of Egypt.[43] ʿAbbās I, (1848-54), was not even reported to have expressed any feelings against slavery. The first legislation against the slave trade was issued by Saʿīd Pasha. Unlike ʿAbbās I, Saʿīd was a man of liberal education and he seems to have abhorred the existence of slavery in his dominions.

On his accession in 1854, Saʿīd took his first measure against the slave trade. He reportedly instructed the governors of the southern Provinces in the future to prevent the introduction of slaves from the Sudan into Egypt across the southern frontier. He further gave directions that in case slaves were clandestinely introduced, they should be considered as entitled to claim their freedom, and be restored whenever possible to their country and friends.[44] In particular, an attempt was made to check the supply of slaves from the White Nile and for that purpose, a government post was established at Fashoda in 1855, to prevent the transport of slaves down the White Nile.[45]

During Saʿīd's reign measures were also taken against slavery as such in Egypt and the Sudan. In 1856, the Viceroy issued a decree that gave full freedom to all slaves in Egypt who of their own accord wished to leave the service of their masters.[46]

During his visit to the Sudan in 1857, Saʿīd reiterated his desire to suppress the slave trade. At Khartoum further decrees were issued; the sale and purchase of slaves were prohibited, soldiers should never be paid in slaves, and the payment of taxes should not be made in slaves.[47]

In September 1858 Saʿīd issued a new order to the Governor of Alexandria demanding the immediate and complete liquidation of the slave trade, and claimed that his former orders to put and end to the trade had been ignored by his officials. A similar order was sent by Saʿīd to the Governor of Sinnār and Khartoum in November 1861.[48]

Saʿīd's measures discouraged the slave trade to Egypt, but south of Khartoum the situation was not much effected, because as long as the source of the trade lay beyond the control of the administration, the slave trade was likely to proceed as vigorously as ever. Slavery in the Sudan was as deeply engrained as ever and its abolition involved nothing short of a social upheaval. The reasons for the perpetuation of the slave trade included the character of the agricultural economy which was largely based on slave labour, the social structure which was supported by traditional and religious attitudes of long standing, and the imcomplete or lack of control by the central authority on the regions south of Khartoum and on the areas between the Nile and the Red Sea coast.[49]

Thus the only real results achieved by Sa'īd's campaign was to cause the slave traders to carry on their traffic secretly over the roads to Egypt. When the open slave market at Khartoum was abolished in 1857, a new market for the slave trade was established at the Shilluk village of Kaka where slaves from the White Nile were sold out of the reach of the authorities and whence they were marched northwards to Kurdufān and then across the desert to Dunqula and Egypt or to Dār Fūr.[50]

At the beginning of the 1860's, events on the White Nile were out of control and the incentive for government intervention was being enhanced by the increase of the power of the Arab traders and settlers at Kaka, the northern Shilluk settlement. In 1860 seventeen out of the twenty-one large settlements on the White Nile were occupied exclusively by Arabs. They mixed with the northern Shilluk and helped them in their wars against the Dinka. In 1860 many Arabs were expelled from Kaka, among them the ill-famed Muḥammad Khayr al-Arqāwī. In February 1861, he attacked the Shilluk with a private army of one thousand men, thirteen boats and two hundred Baqqara cavalry. He burned their capital Denab and sixty other villages, and re-established his authority near Kaka. He subsequently opened negotiations with the governor-general at Khartoum to be recognised as ruler of the Shilluk in return for an annual tribute. This appointment did not materialise, however, owing to the death of Muḥammad Khayr, and the government did not establish the province of the Shilluk before the end of 1863.[51]

By 1862, most of the European and Levantine traders had sold their establishments to their Arab agents and withdrawn from the area. There were three reasons for this development: the spread of violence on Baḥr al-Jabal and Baḥr al-Ghazāl, the increase of the slave trade, the depletion of the ivory sources. It was at this time that the so-called trading companies (*Kubāniyyāt*) were formed and some made themselves notorious as slave dealers. The owners of these companies bargained with the administration at Khartoum to obtain an exclusive right to trade in certain areas. Once this right was granted, they exercised full autonomy in their spheres of influence and went on to hunt for elephants and slaves. The central administration at Khartoum being feeble and unable to control the area, granted several of these leases and some of these traders even went so far as to claim property rights for the areas which were leased to them.[52]

Suggestions for dealing with the slave trade came from different quarters: In 1862 Petherick suggested to the British Consul-General in Cairo, who in turn conveyed this to the Viceroy that in order to deal radically with the slave trade on the White Nile, it was necessary to establish a strong military post on the White Nile with the power to search and seize all boats involved in the slave traffic. Towards the end of 1862 a detachment of soldiers was despatched

to inspect the traffic on the White Nile, while all the merchants were required to furnish a list of their servants and to pay a tax equivalent to one month's salary for each employee on the White Nile.[53] Since 1861, there was talk of forming a body of river police to check the slave trade on the White Nile. At the suggestion of the British Consul-General Colquhoun, the Viceroy Sa'īd ordered four steamers to be sent to the Sudan. These, reinforced by six sailing ships armed with canon, were to form the patrolling fleet. The steamers arrived at Khartoum at the beginning of Ismā'īl's reign.

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CHAPTER IV

COMBATTING THE SLAVE TRADE UNDER KHEDIVE ISMĀ'ĪL 1863-1879

Reports and Protests against the Slave Trade.

The reign of Ismā'īl is characterised by a protracted struggle against the slave trade, which was a concomitant of a great expansion of the territories ruled by Egypt. On the eve of his accession, and in subsequent years, the outer world came to know more about what was going on in the regions of the Upper Nile and Baḥr al-Ghazāl. The activities of the slave and ivory traders were exposed by several travellers and explorers. To some extent this helped Ismā'īl to grasp the dimensions of the activities of the slave traders and their threat to his authority.

For about twenty years after the expeditions of Salīm Qabūdān, no serious attempts had been made to explore the Upper Nile. Apart from the information provided by the ivory traders,[1] who had penetrated the areas round Gondokoro in the forties of the century, no more contributions to exploration were made until the beginning of the 1860's.

In 1860, the French traveller Lejean, travelled in the Eastern Sudan, Gondokoro, and the Baḥr al-Ghazāl. He disclosed in his writings the vicious activities of the Maltese trader Debono in Gondokoro as well as those of the traders of Baḥr al-Ghazāl.[2] Among the men who visited the White Nile and Baḥr al-Ghazāl on the eve of Ismā'īl's accession were the explorers Speke and Grant (1861-63). Speke described the actrocities committed by the slave traders on the Banyoro and other peoples of the Upper Nile.[3] About the same time Sir Samuel Baker, in his attempt to explore the Nile sources, travelled in the eastern and southern Sudan, thus throwing some light on the conditions prevailing in the areas he visited.[4]

Appalled by the state of affairs on the Upper Nile, these travellers put forward certain suggestions to the Egyptian Government to combat the slave trade.

Captain Speke and the British Consul Saunders were of the opinion that the Egyptian Government, in order to eliminate the slave trade, should extend her control to the Equatorial regions, especially those round Gondokoro. In July 1862, Saunders explained that "if the Viceroy could be induced to extend his rule to Gondokoro by annexing the White Nile to Egyptian territory, an inestimable boon would be thereby conferred upon the suffering natives in that direction, and an effectual blow struck at the root of so much misery".[5]

In April 1864, the Royal Geographical Society presented a memorandum to the Foreign Office, in which it was recommended that the British Government should encourage Ismā'īl to extend his authority to the regions of the Upper Nile with a view to establish order in those territories controlled by the slave traders and to establish a principal station at Gondokoro and others along the White Nile. The memorandum explained that "one of the advantages to be derived from this would be the suppression of that infamous traffic in slaves which at present carried on to an enormous extent upon the Upper Nile, and which the Egyptian Government has declared itself anxious to suppress . . . His Highness, would be willing to cooperate in the view put forth, if he received the slightest encouragement from the British Government".[6]

Throughout the first half of the 19th century, the abolitionist movement had focused the attention of the British public on the Atlantic slave trade. With the abolition of slavery in America in 1863, the Atlantic slave trade had almost ceased and the British public was gradually becoming aware of the extent of the North-Eastern African slave trade. Subsequently, British pressure on the Viceroy of Egypt intensified. In 1865, Lord Russell instructed Sir Henry Bulwer, the General-Consul, that he should "omit no opportunity of impressing upon the Viceroy the deep interest of Her Majesty's Government in the suppression of the slave trade . . . and to state that they will at all times be happy to cooperate with His Highness as far as it may be in their powers to do so in any measures having for their object the putting a stop to this inhuman traffic".[7]

In response to British representations, Ismā'īl expressed his strong desire "to go further than this and dry up the evil at its source. This source he declared is the Sudan, where various foreigners carry on the most horrible system of negro kidnapping and hunting down . . . , let the European Governments give such instructions to their agents there as will enable mine to act efficiently and we will destroy the whole traffic. I am most desirous to do this, for the negroes now suppose that I sanction the atrocities practised against them which makes my name odious to them, whereas what is doing is being done by foreigners against my interest in opposition to my authority".[8]

Some slaves from Abyssinia and the Sudan were brought to Egypt through the ports of Massawa' and Sawākin by boat in the Red Sea, sometimes via

Jidda. The slaves were carried in private sailing boats, and sometimes in the steamers of the 'Azīziyya Company, which was partly owned by the Viceroy. Representations in connection with the transport of slaves by the vessels of the company were made personally to the Viceroy. Ismā'īl issued strict orders to the Governor of Suez to check the vessels and make sure that they did not carry slaves.[9] The Viceroy argued, however, that the supervision at the Egyptian ports would not stop the traffic as long as the ports of Massawa' and Sawākin were not under his jurisdiction. These two ports were great slave markets in the Red Sea. Ismā'īl asked Turkey to put Sawākin and Massawa' under his jurisdiction and he undertook to suppress the slave traffic in the African coast of his dominions. In his demand he was supported by the British Government, and in 1865, the two ports were ceded to Egypt.[10]

Isma'il seems to have realised from the very beginning that the suppression of the slave trade and slavery was not an easy matter. Patience and premeditated action could lead to the extinction of the problem. If slavery was to be suppressed, the supply of slaves should first be eliminated. This could be achieved - he contended - when the regions of the Upper Nile and Baḥr al-Ghazāl were brought under the control of the government and opened to legitimate trade.[11]

In March 1865, the Egyptian Government put forward some proposals relative to the measures the Khedive deemed necassary for the suppression of the slave trade from the Sudan: A checking of the traffic on the White Nile to stop the transport of slaves by the River, a search should be made of all the boats in the White Nile, any boat found with slaves on board was to be arrested by the authorities and the slaves set free. That the importation to the Sudan of firearms and ammunition should be strictly prohibited, since with these weapons in their hands, the slave traders had been encouraged to contest the authority of the Government, and it was also maintained that at Khartoum, the abuse by the Consuls to protect European, Levantine and Arab adventurers should definitely cease.[12] The existence of these ideas demonstrates that already in 1865, Ismā'īl was well aware of the magnitude of the slavery problem, and the threat which the slave traders posed to his authority in the Sudan.

Mūsā Ḥamdī Pasha was Governor-General of the Sudan in 1863. Soon after his accession, Ismā'īl issued strict orders to Mūsā Ḥamdī for the suppression of the slave trade. In the middle of 1863, he began to stop all the boats of the slave traders on their arrival at Khartoum from the White Nile, and during the same year he confiscated not less than 70 boats with their slaves between Kaka and Fashoda on the White Nile.[13] In the same year a garrison of 1,000 tropps was stationed at Kaka and Fashoda, and other government posts were established along the White Nile to inspect the boats coming down the River. Besides, four steamers were sent from Cairo to Khartoum to assist the River police in effectively patrolling the White Nile.[14] Towards the end of

1863, Mūsā Ḥamdī, in an attempt to curb the slave traffic on the White Nile, imposed a poll tax on the crew, who were employed by the traders of the White Nile, no boat was allowed to leave Khartoum without payment of the new tax to the Government officials and obtaining a permit allowing them to sail to the Upper Nile.[15] The Government requested the right to search the boats belonging to foreign merchants. The traders at Khartoum were held responsible for the actions of their subordinates during their business trips on the Upper Nile.[16]

The taxes and the new regulations were resented by the traders. The European traders, especially John Petherick, accused the Khartoum Government of discriminating against them and of trying to drive them out of the Sudan, in order to monopolise the trade of the River for the Government. The traders' complaints against the government did not help them because all the traders of the White Nile were accused of capturing slaves and no European Government could support their demands. Petherick abondoned his business and sought legal redress in Egypt and Britain. In 1865 De Bono sold his assets for £5,000 to the Government and quit the country.[17]

Ja'far Ṣādiq was appointed Governor-General in 1865. During his period new measures were introduced to suppress the slave trade, and the patrolling of the White Nile was continued with vigour. The Government of Khartoum started the policy of dispossessing the traders of their settlements on the Upper Nile and Baḥr al-Ghazāl. At first additional taxes were to be levied by the government on these settlements. It was believed that this new tax together with the poll tax would discourage the traders from continuing their business. Besides, Fashoda was made to be a permanent government station. This action closed the White Nile to the traders of Baḥr al-Jabal, Sobat and Baḥr al-Ghazāl.[18]

Thus between 1863 and 1869, the Government of Khartoum made its authority felt on the White Nile. Under the pressure of the government measures, the slave traders withdrew southwards towards Baḥr al-Jabal, Gondokoro, Baḥr al-Ghazāl, and some retired to Dār Fūr, the Sultanate which had remained independent since 1820. In these regions the authority of the government was not yet felt. In fact, as long as these regions remained outside the authority of the government, the suppression of the slave trade in the Sudan was almost impossible. It was natural for the government to conceive that any ultimate reform would have to involve the establishment of a regular government in these areas and bringing them under the effective control of the Khartoum administration. The annexation of these regions was accordingly being considered in Cairo.

The Expeditions of Muḥammad al-Bulālāwī and Sir Samuel Baker.

By 1869, Ismā'īl's policy of the suppression of the slave trade had been reasonably successful in the part of the Upper Nile within the reach of Fashoda, but to the south of this and in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl the power of the slave traders was almost unchecked. The restictions put on the slave trade in the areas of the northern Sudan between 1863 and 1869, assisted in the development of a trade-route from the Upper Nile, through Baḥr al-Ghazāl to Dār Fūr, and Kurdufān, by way of the Rizayqāt country. Ismā 'īl decided to counter this by bringing under his control the Baḥr al-Ghazāl and Baḥr al-Jabal, or the Upper Nile above the entry of Baḥr al-Ghazāl. It was realised by Isma'il that nothing short of complete annexation of the territories from which slaves were hunted could do away with the slave trade. This idea fitted in very well with his own ambitious program for building up an African Empire.

In 1869 therefore, the Khedive Ismā'īl ordered two separate expeditions to be fitted out, the first to Baḥr al-Ghazāl, where al-Zubayr Raḥma al-Manṣūr (merchant and slaver and subsequently made Governor of Baḥr al-Ghazāl) had established himself as the powerful potentate; the second to Baḥr al-Jabal. The command of this latter expedition was given to Sir Samuel Baker, the well-known traveller and discoverer of the sources of the White Nile.[19]

The effective patrolling of the White Nile by Mazhar Pasha (Governor-General 1866-71) had pushed the slavers southwards where they were immune from the harassment of the administration. The traders al-'Aqqād, Abū 'Amūrī and Kushūk 'Alī had for some time formed trading companies which owned many establishments both in Baḥr al-Ghazāl and in Baḥr al-Jabal. They paid a certain rent to the Administration for the right of monopolising trade in specific areas, and they appointed at Khartoum representatives to look after their interests with the authorities. At this period al- 'Aqqād & Co., was the largest trading Company in Baḥr al-Jabal with headquarters both in Cairo and Khartoum. At Khartoum the Company was represented by Shaykh Aḥmad al-'Aqqād, who was able in 1868, to obtain from the Governor-General a four-year contract, giving him the exclusive right of trade in large areas along Baḥr al-Jabal and beyond Gondokoro in Fatiko and Faloro. In these areas the company was given the monopoly of trade in ivory and owned no less than ten establishments.[20]

Abū Su'ūd, a son-in-law of Shaykh al-'Aqqād, was the local agent of the company in the Upper Nile. He had in his employment 2,500 armed men who were commanded by officers. By virtue of this army, he exercised great influence among the natives of the Upper Country. In their search for ivory and slaves, the men of Abū Su'ūd advanced southwards as far as the kingdom of Bunyoro and interfered in the civil wars among the local chiefs, since by this means they could confiscate the ivory and enslave the captives of the

defeated party. By 1869 therefore, Abū Su'ūd had gained considerable power on the Upper Nile and become a threat to the establishment of the Government Authority in these areas.[21]

The Baḥr al-Ghazāl, with its trading stations was controlled by al-Zubayr,[22] who could wield even more authority in Baḥr al-Ghazāl than Abū Su'ūd on the Upper Nile. It seems that since 1867, al-Zubayr could challenge the authority of the Government, and in subsequent years he refused to make any payment for his *zarības* to the Khartoum Government.[23] In order to check al-Zubayr's influence and to achieve an effective suppression of slavery and the slave trade, it was necessary to establish the authority of the government in Baḥr al-Ghazāl. In 1869, with this object in view, an expedition was sent to Baḥr al-Ghazāl under the command of Muḥammad al-Bulālāwī, a West African adventurer.[24] Al-Bulālāwī came originally from the lake Fitri region in Chad. He lived for many years at the court of Sultan Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn (1838-73), of Dār Fūr, who seems to have given him property rights over land near the copper mines at Ḥufrat en-Naḥās, in southern Dār Fūr. In 1866, he visited Egypt, and he seems to have succeded in making the Viceroy's government believe that he had a claim to the countries of Dār Fūr and Wadāy as far as the Lake Fitri, and that his power and reputation in those countries was great enough to permit him with Egyptian help to take possession of them. From Cairo he was sent to Khartoum, where the Governor-General, Ja'far Mazhar Pasha entrusted him with the conquest of Baḥr al-Ghazāl and the subduing of al-Zubayr. He was supplied with 200 regulars, 400 irregulars and 600 troops from the Equatorial province.[25] The expedition arrived in Baḥr al-Ghazāl at the end of 1869. There al-Bulālāwī called upon almost all the traders in the area and informed them that the Khartoum Government had appointed him governor of the whole Baḥr al-Ghazāl, and he commanded the traders to give their *zarības* to the Sudan Government. His attempts to dispossess the traders of their *zarības,* threatened the property rights which the traders claimed over the territory, and the appointment of a governor meant the regular payment of taxes, to the governor-general. This was objected to by the traders who went to al-Zubayr for advice. Al-Zubayr, the chief trader in the area was naturally unwilling to give up his supremacy in the area. After receiving reinforcements from Khartoum, al-Bulālāwī started to attack the *zarības* of the traders and eventually he attacked Zubayr himself and set fire to his capital. Subsequently, al-Zubayr with his own army, together with other armies whom he collected from the other traders, took the offensive and in the fighting that followed al-Bulālāwī was defeated and killed in battle. The defeat of al-Bulālāwī enhanced the prestige of al-Zubayr and gave him unprecedented supremacy in Baḥr al-Ghazāl area.

At the time when the Government was trying to subdue Baḥr al-Ghazāl, another expedition was despatched to Baḥr al-Jabal, under the command of Sir

Samuel Baker. Baker, in his discovery of lake Albert N'Yanza (1862-65), had visited Gondokoro and Bunyoro country further south. Baker was therefore acquainted with the Equatorial regions.[26] In 1869, while travelling in the suite of the Prince of Wales (the future King Edward VII), who was on a visit to the Nile, he met the Khedive Ismā'īl, who appointed him governor of Equatoria. It seems that Baker's experience in the Upper Nile had contributed to his selection by Ismā'īl as governor there. This appointment was resented by Egyptian officials. Not only did it reflect upon their own capacity and integrity but it seemed to confirm their suspicion that Britain had designs upon the Sudan. This resentment was reflected in a report submitted to the Khedive by the Governor-General of the Sudan, Mazhar Pasha, who pointed out the danger that lay in entrusting foreigners with important expeditions in Africa. He advised instead the nomination of Egyptian officers to such tasks. Indeed the choice of Sir Samuel Baker was responsible for a belief gaining ground among Egyptian writers of a later period that Britain had been entertaining secret and ambitious designs on the Sudan.[27] They have maintained that the appointment of Baker was chiefly due to the suggestion made to the Khedive by the Prince of Wales, who in this matter simply expressed the wish of the British Government.

It is true that the Prince of Wales was reported to have highly approved of the expedition, but this expression of approval seems to have been the only suggestion made by the Prince in this matter.[28] Although Baker had attemped from the beginning to enlist in his favour the support of the British government, he was told from the outset that he could not count - when in difficulties - on Downing Street. In 1869, the Foreign Office made his view regarding Baker's expedition in a despatch to the Consul-General in Cairo; "understand distinctly, and make known to all British subjects who may take part in this Expedition, that H. M. G. undertake no responsibility whatever for the consequences of it either as regards themselves, or as regards any matter connected with it".[29] All that the Foreign Office agreed to do, after the employment of Baker by the Egyptian government, was to see that the terms of his contract were faithfully carried out. Baker himself complained in later years that the British government, was indifferent to the fate of the expedition and refused from beginning to end to interfere with the Egyptian government on behalf of Sir Samuel in any matter connected with his actions.[30]

The appointment of Colonel Gordon to succeed Baker as governor of the Equatorial province in 1874, however, helped to deepen the suspicions of the Egyptian officials and public in regard to British intentions in Egypt and the Sudan. It was maintained that by agreeing to the appointment of another Briton to succeed Baker, Britain was in fact attempting to secure a prominent influence both in Egypt and the Sudan. The suspicions of modern Egyptian

critics of the engagement of Baker by Ismā'īl were not unfounded, though they are more relevant to the consequences of the Baker's expedition rather than its antecedents.

Two events of paramount importance which took place in 1869, brought about a revolutionary change in the attitude of Britain towards Egypt and the Sudan: these were the opening of the Suez Canal and the dispatch of Baker's expedition to Equatoria. There is no doubt that the opening of the Suez Canal had placed Egypt in the forefront of rivalry among the Powers, and that Baker's expedition was one of the events which inaugurated the scramble for Africa. It represented a major step in Ismā'īl's grand design to build an African Empire and it also provoked immediate and important responses in Britain. It focused attention on Equatorial Africa and was one of the most important events which caused a change in Europe's attitude towards Africa.[31] The Foreign Secretary, Lord Derby, after reading Baker's "Ismailia", wrote to Baker, "whatever may happen about the slave trade, your expedition cannot fail to have extended British influence in Egypt . . . I know nothing that is going on in the world just now so remarkable as the steady and rapid progress which we are making in opening-up Africa; and it is evident that the road must lie mainly through Egyptian territory".[32] Another indication of British policy is further shown in 1879, in a letter of instruction from the Foreign Secretary, Lord Salisbury to Edward Malet, British consul-general in Cairo, which illuminates British policy towards Egypt in the twilight period between the purchase of the Suez shares in 1876, and the occupation of the country in 1882, the letter states, "the leading aim of our policy in Egypt is the maintenance of the neutrality of that country, that is to say, the maintenance of such state of things that no great Power shall be more powerful there than England".[33]

Yet, from Ismā'īl's point of view, the engagement of Baker and Gordon was motivated by other reasons. Britain was the Power most interested in the question of slavery in Egypt and in the Sudan, and a number of reports of her consuls and agents were devoted to this matter. In spite of the efforts made by Ismā'īl since his accession to combat the slave trade, accusations of conniving at the slave trade were made against the Khartoum administration. In August 1869, it was maintained by Lord Clarendon that it was evident from the number of slaves exported from Egypt to Constantinople and Smyrna that a considerable traffic in slaves must exist between Egypt and the interior of Africa of which the Egyptian authorities could not be ignorant and which they were in duty bound to suppress.[34] Thus in order to convince public opinion in Europe of his sincerity, the Khedive thought it was expedient to engage a Briton for the Upper Nile Expedition. Besides her interest in the question of slavery in Egypt and the Sudan, Britain had supported Ismā'īl against the pretensions of de Lesseps over the Suez Canal Company, and had

given him assistance at Constantinople between 1865 and 1867 to augment his political autonomy.[35] This assistance inclined the Khedive to seek to satisfy the British Government in the question of slavery and the slave trade in Africa.

In March 1869, the Khedive Ismā'īl appointed Baker to the command of the Upper Nile Expedition, and as Governor-General of Equatoria for four years with the rank of *farīq* and title of Pasha.Baker received the following instructions:

1. to establish the authority of the Egyptian Government in the countires of the White Nile.
2. to suppress the slave trade.
3. to introduce a system of legitimate commerce.
4. to open to navigation the great lakes of the Equator which form the principal sources of the Nile.
5. to establish a chain of military stations and commercial depots, distant at intervals of three days march throughout central Africa. Gondokoro is the base of operations.
6. By the annexation of these countries (which comprise the Nile basin of Central Africa), the Egyptian Empire would extend from the sources of the Nile to the Mediterranean.[36]

In addition, Baker obtianed "the most absolute and supreme power, even that of death over all those who may compose the expedition", as well as "over all those countries belonging to the Nile basin south of Gondokoro".[37]

Thus Ismā'īl's object was the suppression of the slave trade, as well as the annexation of the areas from which slaves were procured. In his account of the instructions Baker stresses the suppression of the slave trade,[38] but for Ismā'īl the consolidation and extension of Egyptian rule over the regions of the Upper Nile, in furtherance of the programme initiated by his great grandfather, Muḥammad 'Alī was more important than the suppression of the slave trade. Ismā'īl's letter of instructions to the Minister of Interior in connection with Baker's expedition is indicative of this: "Owing to the necessity of annexing the Upper Nile, which is considered the major part of the blessed Nile, to the Sudanese territories, and because of the existing links between them, the Egyptian government had planned, since ancient times, the advance to the Upper regions of the Nile, and accordingly the appointment of Samuel Baker - who had previously discovered the sources of the Nile, and who had been adequately familiar with those areas - was decided upon as commander for the annexation fo the Upper White Nile to the Egyptian dominions . . ."[39]

There is in fact no mention whatever of the slave trade in the letter to the Minister of Interior, which indicates that the main object of the expedition -

in Ismā'īl's consideration - was the opening up of the equatorial regions and their annexation to the Sudan.

Baker, in his first report to Ismā'īl, after reaching Equatoria, clearly stated Egypt's permanent interest in the Nile waters, "as the prosperity of all Egypt depends on the Nile it has become indispensable to annex for Egypt the two Lakes from which it takes its source".[40]

The expedition was equipped on a large scale which was sufficient to satisfy Baker's requirements and Ismā'īl's lavish conceptions. Baker was to have any number of troops as re-inforcements and a "carte blanche" for all expenses, appointments and everything pertaining to the expedition. Three steamers of 251, 107 and 38 tons were ordered from Britain. These together with 10 ton steel lifeboats were to be convoyed from Cairo in sections by boat to Kurusku, across the Nūbian desert by camel, by boat again to Gondokoro, and then, by camel again to a point above the Fola Rapids where they would be launched on the Albert Nile and could open up Lake Albert. Steam saw-mills, rockets and ammunition, and trade goods were also ordered, and a train of forty-one railway wagons was needed to bring this equipment from Alexandria to Cairo.[41] According to Ismā'īl's instructions to the Minister of Interior, 1,500 Egyptian and Sudanese troops, artillery and irregular cavalry, were to accompany this equipment.[42]

There were difficulties of assembling transport at Cairo. The dispatch of the expedition coincided with the extravagant festivities accompanying the opening of the Suez Canal. Although the first division of the expedition started their journey in April 1869, taking the route of the Nile to Khartoum, the equipment did not leave till the autumn and all the larger boats were unable to ascend the cataracts. Baker himself, with the rest of the expedition left in December 1869 for the Sudan via the Red Sea to Sawākin and thence to Berber and Khartoum arriving there on 8 January 1870. At Khartoum, Ja'far Pasha Maẓhar could not prepare in time the necessary number of boats and camels for the transportation of the expedition to Gondokoro.[43] This made Baker extremely disappointed.

Eventually, on the 8 February 1870, Baker left Khartoum for the White Nile with a preliminary force of 800 men, under the command of an Egyptian officer Ra`ūf Bey, 2 steamers and 31 boats. This was to be followed by the rest of the troops and equipment. Beyond the Shilluk, Baker found the White Nile obstructed with masses of floating vegetation which had formed a barrier across the River in the area between Baḥr al-Ghazāl and the Sobat mouth. Baker had to take the twisting route of Baḥr al-Zarāf. There he met another formidable barrier, namely the *sadd,* which was a solid growth of papyrus swamp which closed the river. After an unsuccessful attempt to cut a channel through the river, Baker decided to return to Khartoum, until navigation was

possible. On his return, Baker established a temporary station at Tawfīqiyya amongst the southern Shilluk and within 4 miles of the Sobat junction.[44] He was back at Khartoum on 1 September 1870. When Baker was on the White Nile, he captured some boats belonging to the slave traders Kushūk 'Alī and al-'Aqqād. At Khartoum the agents of these traders put up a stubborn resistance to the expedition. The main opposition came from al-'Aqqād Company and its agent Abū Su'ūd who from now on intrigued against Baker and aroused the hostility of the natives against him. In spite of Baker's intention to suppress the slave trade and his condemnation of the actions of the slave traders, he made an agreement with al-'Aqqād Company and its agent Abū Su'ūd to supply his troops with provisions at Gondokoro, and to provide him with 1,800 irregular troops in case of war with the negroes.[45]

Baker sailed again from Khartoum on 10 October 1870, arriving at Gondokoro on 15 April 1871. On 20 May 1871, Baker announced the formal annexation of Gondokoro to the Khedive's Government and at the same time he issued regulations which prohibited; 1. the trade in ivory and the shooting of elephants; all ivory being the property and monopoly of the government; 2. the slave traffic. It was hoped that the monopoly of the trade by the government would curb the transactions of the slave traders who used slaves as medium of exchange on the White Nile.[46]

In July 1871, the Bari tribes who were provoked by the constant attacks made against them, and enticed by the slave traders, attacked the government station at Gondokoro in large numbers. Subsequently Baker fortified Gondokoro and in August he attacked the Belinian tribe whom he considered allies of the Bari. Baker eventually succeeded in subduing his enemies and subsequently he dispatched their corn and cattle to Gondokoro.[47]

In December 1871, the commander Muḥammad Raʾūf declared that the soldiers were discontented and the lack of provisions made a return to Khartoum inevitable. Baker subsequently led a force of three hundred men against the Bari tribe who were at a distance of twelve miles from the station. Baker seized their cattle and corn and for the next month detachments of his troops made similar attacks despatching large quantities of corn by boat to Gondokoro. In the meantime, 70 boats with about 1,100 sick and wounded men were allowed to return to Khartoum, and thus the strength of the expedition was reduced to about 500 men, with whom Baker was able to attempt the rest of his programme.[48]

On 22 January 1872, Baker started south to Laboré where he could secure 400 men as porters. In March he established a military post at Fatiko, the principal station of Abū Su'ūd south of Gondokoro. On 25 April, he arrived at Masindi, the capital of the Bunyoro kingdom, and on 14 May 1872, Baker took possession of Bunyoro in the name of the Khedive of Egypt.[49] Baker explained

to King Kabarega that his kingdom could be taken under the protection of the Khedive, and that the government of the Khedive would henceforward take all the ivory in the King's possession in return for manufactured goods. In June, however, Baker was suddenly attacked at his station by 6,000 men of Kabarega. Baker took the offensive, and burned down Masindi.[50] The reasons why Kabarega attacked Baker at Masindi was that he was afraid of losing his kingdom to the Egyptians. He resented Baker's proposed measures. Moreover he asked Baker to assist him in his war against a rival to the throne of Bunyoro, Rionga. Baker refused to take part in this struggle, and the slave traders consequently easily induced Kabarega to attack Baker. In spite of his victory, Baker had to retreat to Fatiko which he arrived on 2 August 1872 with remarkably few losses. On his arrival he was attacked by Abū Su'ūd's irregulars, who were in rebellion but the attack was repulsed. He then built a fort at Fatiko. He left Fatiko in March 1873, arriving at Gondokoro on 1st April 1873, the very day when his contract with the Egyptian government expired. From Gondokoro he sent a despatch to Ismā'īl as follows: "All obstacles have been surmounted. All enemies have been subdued - and the slavers who had the audacity to attack the troops have been crushed. The slave trade of the White Nile has been suppressed - and the country annexed, so that Egypt extends to the equator."[51]

In spite of Baker's claim that the expedition had conquered and pacified the country as far as the Equator, no territory beyond Fatiko and Foweira was annexed. Bunyoro and Buganda were far from being annexed to Egypt. Apart from establishing two military posts at Gondokoro and Fatiko, the station of Foweira and the town Tawfīqiyya, the expedition failed to suppress the slave traffic and open the country to legitimate commerce.[52] On the other hand, Baker's actions excited the hostility of the natives against Egyptian rule. Baker's constant want of provisions fot his troops led to problems with the natives and made cooperation between them and Baker impossible. In other words, Baker adopted the same tactics as the slave traders. In order to obtain provisions, regular campains against the negroes were organized by Baker himself, who thus completely disregarded the Khedive's advice and waged a war against the natives, whom he was supposed to protect.[53]. As soon as the Khedive learned of the operations of Baker he wrote and stressed the fact that the mission was to be one of peace and progress, but that Baker had failed to avoid the use of excessive force. He ordered him to stop this immediately and simply fortify his position at Gondokoro. He was not allowed to make any advance until he had suppressed the slave trade and established a firm Government at Gondokoro.[54] When Baker had started south in January 1872, the slave traders were still at large around Gondokoro and the negroes were hostile to the government. Baker's position around Gondokoro was far from strong, and the advance he had made southwards was not really justified.

Baker's arrangement with the Company of al-'Aqqād to supply his troops with provisions at Gondokoro, and to furnish him with troops was unfortunate, to say the least. Baker must have known, when he made this arrangement, the methods which the traders would use to procure provisions, namely plundering the natives of their food and cattle. Moreover, Baker's enlistment of the slavers' troops in his force was provocative to the natives who must have thought that the Government troops and the slave hunters were in league. This impression was partly responsible for the native opposition encountered by Baker round Gondokoro.[55]

It was estimated that about half a million pounds[56] had been spent on the expedition, and Baker himself received over £40,000 which was certainly a far greater remuneration than that gained by any of the European merchants who had preceded him. Against this enormous expense could be set only the considerable quantity of ivory confiscated from Abū Su'ūd at Fatiko, being estimated by Baker at 1,500 ṣantārs worth at Cairo possibly £50,000,[57] and the fact that the steamers and supplies taken by Baker to Gondokoro continued to form a large part of the material basis of the administration throughout the remaining years of Egyptian rule in Equatoria.

The lack of positive results achieved by the expedition was partly due to the obstruction of the White Nile, and partly to Baker's own impatience and his excessive use of force against the natives. Baker misconstrued his instructions by concentrating on the suppression of the slave trade to the detriment of Ismā'īl's other commands. His dealings with the Bari, Bunyoro, and Buganda exhibit the attitude of the conquerer while Ismā'īl had hoped for peaceful annexations. Yet, in spite of this, the foundation of an ordered government in Equatorial Africa was laid for the first time as a result of the expedition and a heavy blow was struck against the slave trade.

Charles G. Gordon and the Suppression of the Slave Trade in the Equatorial Province 1874 - 1876.

In 1873, Ismā'īl was unwilling to renew the contract of Baker. The Khedive, however, remained true to his object of bringing Baḥr al-Jabal under regular administration and suppressing the slave trade. Ismā'īl wanted to show that though he was dismissing Sir Samuel, he did not mean to stop the fight against the slave traders, and in this respect, nothing could convince the British government of his sincerity other than the appointment of another Briton to fill the post vaceted by Sir Samuel. Apart from this, Ismā'īl considered that by emphasizing the suppression of slavery and the slave trade, he would enlist the support of the British Government in the achievement of his ends and the furtherance of his own interests. In 1873, Ismā'īl succeeded in his efforts to augment

the privileges he secured in 1866-67, by obtaining from the Porte, the famous and comprehensive Firmān of June 1873. In this achievement - which increased the autonomy of Egypt - Ismā'īl was assisted by the diplomatic support of Britain.[58] Ismā'īl was grateful to Britain, and his gratitude was demonstrated by appointing Gordon to succeed Sir Samuel.

On 16 February 1874, Gordon obtained his instructions from Khedive Ismā'īl. These instructions leave no doubt that the paramount and most important task of the new governor was the institution of good government and the maintenance of friendly relations with the natives: the two fundamental steps that would eventually lead to the suppression of the slave traffic in the Equatorial Province.[59]

To achieve these goals it was deemed necessary to separate the Government of the Equatorial Province from that of Khartoum, thus giving the province a proper administration, and of decreeing at the same time a monopoly of trade in these regions. The Khedive maintained that these were the only means for the suppression of the slave trade which was carried on by violence. The Khedive conceded that these areas were subject to the rule of the traders who conducted their trade by force of arms. The government had bought some of these establishments and leased some others to certain traders who were permitted to remain in these regions, provided that they continue their trade under the supervision of the Government of Khartoum and refrain from slave-trading. The supervision of the Khartoum government was ineffective because of the long distance and difficult communications; therefore it was decided to separate Equatoria Province from Khartoum and decree the monopoly of trade, because these were the only means to suppress the nefarious trade.[60]

Next Gordon was instructed to disband the armed traders who were still in occupation of stations in the Upper Nile, and prosecute those who persisted in their old practices with all the vigour of martial law.

While Baker was in Equatoria, he claimed to have annexed the Upper Country as far as the Equator and that the natives paid corn tax to the government. These claims were unfounded. Moreover, Baker failed both to suppress the slave trade and to open the Equatorial Country to legitimate Commerce.[61] In consequence, it became the task of Gordon to fulfil what Baker had failed to accomplish.

The suppression of the slave traffic was foremost among the tasks assigned by the Khedive to Gordon. By March 1874, Gordon was at Khartoum. His first measure as Governor-General of the Equatorial Province was to issue a decree declaring the government monopoly of the ivory trade and preventing the formation of armed bands in the territories under his jurisdiction. All persons were forbidden to enter these territories without having first obtained a permit from the proper authorities.[62] This made Equatoria a closed district and trade

in general was paralysed. Many of the merchants, including the slave traders, were compelled to retire from business and discontent with the Khedivial Policy duely increased. Yet, in spite of these consequences, the decree was an essential step since it was the most effective means to suppress the activities of the slave traders in the Sudan. Already in February 1872, the Khedive Ismā'īl had agreed to the monopoly of the trade in the Upper Nile for the same reasons.[63]

One of Gordon's earliest steps in Equatoria was to send Romolo Gessi[64] to the Baḥr al-Ghazāl in order to make a study of the activities of the slave traders in the area. Gessi advanced from Khartoum and visited Kaka and Fashoda and Mashrā' al-Rayk. He reached Bor in August 1874 where he established a station and left a garrison to watch the slave traders activity in the neighbourhood. At Mashrā' al-Rayk, Gessi compiled a report on the trading stations of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl, which he despatched to Gordon.[65] Subsequently Gordon reported to the Khedive that the country of Baḥr al-Ghazāl was infested with the slave traders' stations and that great atrocities were inflicted on the natives by the slave traffickers. Because of this state of things and because no government was instituted in the area, Gordon suggested that the province of Baḥr al-Ghazāl should be placed under his jurisdiction.[66]

Meanwhile, Gordon himself chased the slave traffickers from Baḥr al-Zarāf and erected a strong military post at Sobat. The Sobat station commanded the entrance to the White Nile, and the boats before passing were stopped and inspected. The Sobat station closed the White Nile to all boats engaged in the slave traffic.[67]

At the time of Gordon's arrival in Gondokoro in April 1874, the Government did not possess more than three garrison stations: Gondokoro, Fatiko and Foweira. On the other hand, the Makaraka, Latuka, Bor, Ghaba Shambe and Baḥr al-Zarāf were all occupied by the Khartoum traders. In September 1874, Gordon established a new capital at Lado, and in the course of the same year several stations, besides those of Sobat, Bor and Lado, were built at Nasr, Ghaba Shambe, Regaf, Dufile, Latuka and Makaraka. These stations were garrisoned by disciplined soldiers and commanded by officers. They were instructed to maintain peace, and to check the activities of the slave traders in the various areas.[68]

Thus in few months Gordon laid the rudiments of government in the Equatorial Province and linked together the various districts by the opening of safe roads throughout the Province. As a result of this organisation and strict surveillance the slave traders were driven away from the area.

In the course of 1874 and 1875, Gordon completed a chain of new posts between Foweira, Mrooli, Magungo and brought Bunyoro and parts of Uganda between Lakes Albert and Ibrahim (afterwards named Kioga) within the Egyp-

tian sphere of influence, established friendly relations with the King of Buganda and launched boats on lake Albert.

Gordon's administration in Equatoria was successful. In less than three years he suppressed the slave trade and established a permanent form of organised government in the Equatorial Province. Furthermore, he was able by placing the boats on lake Albert and by establishing friendly relations with Uganda to open the Equatorial regions to legitimate commerce.

The Suppression of the Slave Trade in Dār Fūr

The Sultanate of Dār Fūr, in the Western Sudan had remained independent since the Egyptian conquest of the North in 1820. The reign of the Khedive Ismā'īl was to see the downfall of the ancient Sultanate.

Dār Fūr was well known not only as a centre of commerce, but also as a slave trade depot. The reasons for the conquest of Dār Fūr could be found in the rising power of al-Zubayr and the fear that Dār Fūr, which was rapidly becoming the centre of all fugitive slave traders, would threaten the authority of the Khartoum Government. In 1874, the autohorities in Cairo were firmly resolved to conquer Dār Fūr. They maintained that the occupation of Dār Fūr would quickly put an end to the slave traffic.[69] This opinion was shared by contemporaries who were well informed of the slavery problem in the area.[70] Schweinfurth agreed with the necessity of the conquest of Dār Fūr. "Neither a regular system of taxation nor the suppression of the slave trade in the Upper Nile countries is possible until Egypt shall have made good its footing in Dār Fūr".

The effective patrolling of the White Nile had closed the main waterway to the slave traders, while under the administration of Baker and Gordon in Equatoria, the slave traders were driven from Baḥr al-Jabal. A great number of them sought refuge in Dār Fūr, where they received every encouragement from its Sultan, who derived part of his revenue from the slave traffic.[71] In the 1870's, Dār Fūr became the central point of the slave trade in the Western Sudan and its exports of slaves to Egypt and the Sudan was continued in defiance of the authorities at Khartoum and Cairo. In spite of the measures of the Government, the traders of Dār Fūr smuggled their slaves through Kurdufān or across the desert to Egypt. Besides, by 1874, Dār Fūr had become a gathering place of the malcontents who resented the measures taken by the Government against the slave trade. There was apprehension that an alliance would be made between the slavers and the Sultan to resist the policy of the Government by force of arms.[72]

Meanwhile the prestige of al-Zubayr in Baḥr al-Ghazāl had grown in consequence of his defeat of the al-Bulālāwī expedition, and his territory afforded

a refuge to some of the traders expelled from Baḥr al-Jabal. The Rīzayqāt Arabs abrogated their agreement with al-Zubayr, and threatened his communications with Kurdufān. He subsequently took the offensive against them and decisively defeated them on 28 August 1873. He then took Shaqqā,[73] the administrative centre of the Rīzayqāt territory. The Rīzayqāts' suzerain, Sultan Ibrāhīm Qarad of Dār Fūr, fearing the growing power of al-Zubayr afforded them protection and adopted unconciliatory attitude. Al-Zubayr thereupon determined to invade Dār Fūr, but first he took the precaution of regularising his position with the Governor-General, Ismā'īl Pasha Ayyūb, and with the Khedive. Confronted with this situation and with his resources already strained with his other commitments, Ismā'īl was compelled to come to terms with al-Zubayr. At the end of 1875, he was recognized as Governor of Baḥr al-Ghazāl and Shaqqā with the rank of Bey, and he was to be provided with a small garrison of regular troops in return for a tribute of £15,000 per annum. Thus before his war with Dār Fūr, al-Zubayr could rely on the support of the Egyptian Government, who had entertained the cconquest of the Sultanate since the time of Muḥammad 'Alī. Al-Zubayr then invaded Dār Fūr from the south with an army composed of his northern followers and slave troops *(Bāzinqir)*, while Ismā'īl Ayyūb, commanding the government troops, advanced from the east. On 24 October 1874 Sultan Ibrāhīm was defeated and killed by al-Zubayr and his capital al-Fāshir was occupied by the invading armies.[74] Dissension soon arose between the two commanders over the administration of Dār Fūr and in June 1875, al-Zubayr went to Cairo to plead his cause. There he was detained by the Khedive.

Dār Fūr was divided into four sub-provinces, the whole controlled by a General-Governor. The Egyptian administration imposed a heavy poiltax and took steps to suppress slavery in the province. The slaves who were found in Dār Fūr were then set free by Ayyūb Pasha, who gave them their manumission papers, and steps were then taken to send those freed slaves who did not wish to stay in Dār Fūr to their native countries.[75] The imposition of tax and the suppression of the slave trade caused discontent among the inhabitants of Dār Fūr, who in 1877 rose in revolt under a protender to the sultanate. The Baḥr al-Ghazāl in the meantime was dominated by Sulaymān, the son of al-Zubayr and his followers.

The Suppression of the Slave Trade along the Coasts of the Horn of Africa.

Since the early years of his reign Ismā'īl had pursued a policy of expansion on the Red Sea coast, and when Gordon had consolidated the Egyptian rule in Equatoria and Ayyūb Pasha had organized the administration of Dār Fūr in 1875, Ismā'īl started to plan the extension of Egyptian control as far as the

Somali coast beyond the straits of Bab el-Mandab. Ismā'īl maintained that this was a necessary step for the suppression of the slave trade in these regions and the opening the country for legitimate trade.[76]

The first important aquisition by Egypt occurred in May 1865. The two Ports of Massawā' and Sawākin were ceded to Ismā'īl by the Porte,[77] and a year later, the Khedive was granted hereditary rule both at Massawā' and Sawākin, and in their dependencies.[78] Sawākin and Massawā' were two important slave markets from which considerable numbers of slaves were exported to Egypt as well as other countries. Ismā'īl claimed that as long as these two ports were outside the pale of Egypt's authority, the activities of the slave traders in the Red Sea would persist and asked Turkey to put them under his jurisdiction so that he could suppress the slave traffic on the African coast of his dominions. In this way Ismā'īl secured the support of the British Government for his demands.[79]

Yet Ismā'īl had also been actuated to acquire Massawā' and Sawākin which were under the jurisdiction of the Pasha of Jidda between 1849 and 1865 by other strong motives. The two ports were important trade centres which Ismā'īl wanted to control. Besides, the question of communication always had the attention of Ismā'īl, and he strove to link the Sudan with these outlets on the Red Sea.

Since Egypt claimed that by virtue of the Firmāns of 1865 and 1866 her sovereignty extended over the African coast, beyond the straits of Bab el-Mandab, it was now claimed that the two ports of Bulhar and Berbera on the Somali coast belonged to the Egyptian Government. In the early months of 1870, an Egyptian fleet arrived to the shores of Bulhar and Berbera, on the Somali coast. The British governor at Aden, who seemed to question Egypt's claims of sovereignty over the Somali regions protested against this move. A note was thus submitted by the Egyptian Minister Sharīf Pasha in June 1870, to Stanton, the British Consul-General, respecting the rights of the Ottoman Porte over the territory occupied by the Somalis to the south of the straits of Bāb el-Mandab.[80] In this note the Khedive's claims were outlined, to the effect that this territory was not at all independent; it was and it had been always Ottoman; by virtue of the imperial Firmān it had been comprised in the cession made by the Sublime Porte to the Egyptian Government of the Provinces of Massawā' and Sawākin and their dependencies. In August 1870 Mumtāz Pasha was made Governor of all the African Coasts from Suez to Cape Ghardafui, including Bulhar and Berbera. And in April 1871 Werner Munzinger was appointed Governor of Massawā'.[81] Thus it was evident that as early as 1870-71, the Khedive had decided upon establishing Egypt's authority and securing recognition of Her rights in these parts of Africa.

In February 1873, Munzinger was made Governor of the Eastern Sudan.

His jurisdiction included Sawākin and the hinterland of Keren and Kassala.[82]

The occupation of the Somali coast by Egypt could not be effected without being noticed by the British Governor at Aden and without arousing the apprehensions of Britain, who closely watched the Egyptian activity in the Gulf of Aden. However, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, Sir Henry Elliot, supported Egypt and maintained that the recognition of the Egyptian claims under the suzerainty of Turkey on the western coast of the Red Sea, and on the African coast of the Gulf of Aden, would lead to the effective and quick suppression of the slave trade in these regions.[83]

Finally in July 1875, the port of Zaylā' was ceded by the Porte to Egypt.[84] Zaylā' had been a Turkish possession, and was a centre for the slave trade on the Somali coast. The Khedive contended that his occupation of Zaylā' would help him suppress the slave traffic on the Somali coast and encourage legitimate commerce between Zaylā' and the interior of Africa.[85]

In October 1875, Egypt annexed the independent Sultanate of Harrār. This was a notorious slave market. Slaves were brought from Abyssinia, the Galla country, and the regions around lake Victoria N 'Yanza, and from Harrār these slaves were despatched to Arabia through the Somali ports of Berbera, Tajūra and Zayla'. Now the Khedive decided to annex the Sultanate, to establish a good government there, to prevent the export of slaves through his dominions and open the country to legitimate commerce.[86] By the acquisition of Zayla', Egypt became virtually in control of the entire African coast of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden.

On 17 September 1875, the Khedive gave instructions to McKillop - a former officer of the British navy - to proceed to the Juba River. In November 1875, four Egyptian warships landed troops at the mouth of the Juba River and overpowered the Zanzibari troops, who garrisoned the area. The Khedive believed that by despatching an expedition to the Juba, he would be acting within his own territory. Moreover, he hoped that Gordon would make an advance from the Equatorial lakes to meet in due course the Egyptian force, and render it all possible assistance.[87]

Long before the arrival of the Egyptians to the Juba River, however, Britain had exercised a considerable influence at Zanzibar. Already on 5 June 1873, the British Government had signed a treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar for the abolition of the slave trade throughout his dominions.[88] British policy was therefore committed to upholding the power of the Sultan at Zanzibar and on the mainland. Britain opposed the Ismā'īl's occupation of the Juba and protested against the intrusion of Ismā'īl in the affairs of Zanzibar. In the face of these protests, the Juba expedition was recalled.[89]

Yet the Juba River Expedition had an important consequence. The negotiations that had been progressing between Britain and Egypt during the

year 1875, to define the limit of the Khedive's rights of sovereignty in the Somali Coast, were now resumed with vigour. To begin with, in January 1876, the Khedive started to make the remark that it was essential for him if he was to carry out his program for the suppression of the slave trade within his territories to have a secure port on the shore of the Indian ocean, and he believed that Her Majesty's Government would help him in securing such a port. The Khedive pointed out that he had spent a great deal of money in suppressing the slave trade in Equatoria and a shorter line of communication was essential if his position was to be maintained. Besides the opening of a route from the lakes to the coast of the Indian ocean would prove of great benefit to commerce in general, but above all to British commerce. The Khedive argued that, Egypt had aquired sovereignty over the whole Somali country, of which the natural boundary in the south was the Juba River.[90] But Britain had already objected to the extention of the Egyptian jurisdiction to the Juba River, and now the Khedive was forced to restrict his claims on the Somali coast to Rās Hafoun. The coast between Cape Ghardafui and Rās Hafoun had been annexed to Egypt by McKillop Pasha in 1875, at the time of the Juba Expedition, and in March 1877, Britain agreed to this extension of the recognised limit of Ismā'īl's jurisdiction as far as Rās Hafoun. It was stipulated that Berbera and Bulhar would be free ports, and a moderate custom duties to be fixed at Zayla' and Tajūra, as well as all ports of the Somali coast, other than Bulhar and Berbera.[91] It was also agreed that between Berbera and Rās Hafoun, the government of the Khedive pledged itself for the present, and until such time as its authority be regularly established, to use its best efforts to stop the slave traffic along the coast.[92] Accordingly, in September 1877, a convention on these lines, was signed between Britain and Egypt respecting the recognition by Her Majesty's Government of His Highness jurisdiction under the suzernainty of the Sublime Porte over the Somali coast as far as Rās Hafoun.[93]

Britain's recognition of Egypt's rights of sovereignty on the Somali coast was motivated in the first place by Her desire to exclude all rival European influence from the Somaliland. Thus in order to forestall the establishment of European rivals on or near the Suez route to India, Britain was encouraging Egypt to extend Her possessions on the African shores of the Red Sea and the Somali coast, as a safeguard against the extension of the French and Italian footholds at Obock and Assab. Britain regarded Egypt as a more pliant and therefore preferable guardian of this coast strategically placed on the short route to India, and at the same time supporting hegemony of Zanzibar over the African coast of the Indian ocean.[94] By this recognition, it was also hoped that the Khedive would secure the British purpose by suppressing the slave traffic and developing legitimate commerce in this part of Africa. Thus Britain, under

the pretext of "suppressing the slave trade" had used Egypt as a tool to serve Her ocean strategy, while Khedive Ismā'īl, making use of the same pretext, obtained British support and recognition of the extention of Egypt's control to new areas on the Red Sea coast and the Gulf of Aden. The negotiations between Britain and Egypt which led to the conclusion of such recognition, paved the way for an anti-slavery convention with Egypt. Indeed the Agreement of 7 September 1877 was a supplement to a more comprehensive Convention signed in 4 August 1877 between the two countries for the abolition of the slave trade in Egypt and Her dominions.

The Convention between the British and Egyptian Governments for the Suppression of the Slave Trade.

In the first half of the century the attention of the Anti-Slavery Society and the British public was practically monopolized by the problem of the Atlantic slave trade, but in the 1860's the slave trade from East Africa was attracting considerable attention in Britain. In 1871, a Parliamentary Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the whole question of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa. Although primarily concerned with the Zanzibar trade, the evidence before the Committee incidentally revealed how considerable the Red Sea slave trade was, and Sir Bartle Frere, appointed to negotiate a treaty with Zanzibar, visited Egypt on his journey in December 1872.[95]

Ismā'īl's attitude and intentions regarding the slave trade were disclosed in two long interviews with Sir Bartle Frere. Ismā'īl explained that he wanted to strike at the evil of the slave trade at its sources before a radical cure could be effected. He himself would assist in this matter, but as a Muslim ruler, he had great difficulties to contend against; the institution of domestic slavery had existed in these countries for many centuries and it was impossible to stop it immediately by a *coup de sabre.* It was impossible for him to do away with domestic slavery immediately. This would require time; but if the supply were stopped slavery would soon itself disappear. His government had already gone to great expense with this object in view by the expedition or Sir Samuel Baker. In fact, the Khedive claimed for Egypt the position as the head of civilization on the African continent. He needed, however, the moral support of Great Britain to convince his subjects of the necessity of the abolition of Slavery. Ismā'īl suggested therefore that perhaps the Anti-Slavery Society should urge the British Government to call upon him to take more energetic measures and, as a *quid pro quo,* the moral support of Great Britain should include a recognition of his claims against Abyssinia and his need for greater independence from Turkey and France. In other words, Ismā'īl wanted support against Abyssinia, Turkey and France for a promise to try to abolish the slave trade.

If Ismā'īl had the support of Britain he was prepared to engage that he would put an end to the slave trade in Central Africa. Frere was convinced of Ismā'īl's sincerity, but explained that the increased wealth of Egypt during the last forty years had unfortunaletely led to an increased demand for slaves. Frere suggested that the only solution therefore would be the abolition of the legal status of slavery by gradual measures similar to those adopted by Brazil; that all children born of slave mothers and fathers in Egypt, and all slaves brought to Egypt after a certain date should be free; that after a certain number of years slavery should no longer be tolerated in Egypt, and that it should be penal to detain against his or her will any person of mature age desiring to be free, and over whom no claim could be alleged but that of purchase.[96]

Thus Ismā'īl stressed all the time, that in order to abolish the slave trade, it was necessary to eliminate the supply, and this could only be effected by annexing the territories from which the slaves were brought, while at the same time, he emphasized the difficulty of stopping the demand. In other words, Ismā'īl wanted British support for expansion with the excuse that stopping supply would be easier than stopping demand. Frere, on the other hand, believed that while the demand for slaves continued, it was practically impossible to cut off the supply. This was especially the case where the sources of supply were so many and spread over so large an area that ages would hardly suffice to reach them all by separate measures of repression.[97]

Frere was confident that Ismā'īl could be convinced both of the necessity and of the possibility of the measures which he suggested against the slave trade and slavery. The Foreign Office in consequence, arranged a demonstration of anti-slavery sentiment. In the early months of 1873 memorials from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and the International Anti-Slavery Society were duly submitted to the British Government urging the Khedive to abolish slavery.[98] In April 1873, Lord Granville, while enclosing a memorial, instructed the British Consul in Egypt, Stanton, to request an interview with His Highness for the purpose of presenting the Memorial to him, and he was also instructed to inform the Khedive "that Her Majesty's Government have no hesitation in strongly supporting the prayer of the Memorial, advocating as it does an object for the attainment of which this country has made great sacrifices, and as His Highness is fully aware is still using its best endeavours". Lord Granville then continued to say, "you will add, that after the proofs the Khedive has already given of his willingness to the claims of humanity, Her Majesty's Government cannot doubt that he will consent to take active steps towards an end if accomplished would reflect such credit on his administration and would be a convincing proof of his determination to place Egypt among the civilized nations of the world".[99] Ismā'īl accepted the Memorial and expressed his willingness to do ail in his powers to put an end to the slave

traffic. Subsequently, Ismā'īl issued new and strict orders to Munzinger, the Governor of the Eastern Sudan, and to Ayyūb Pasha the Governor General of the Sudan, to entirely stop the slave trade. They were instructed to arrest the caravans of slaves, to emancipate the slaves, return the liberated ones to their homes provided that there was no risk for them being recaptured again by the slave dealers. Those who refused to go to their homes were to be given work, the young girls to be married, and their children to receive education by the Authorities.[100] Moreover, Munzinger was instructed to arrest all boats found to be carrying slaves along the western coast of the Red Sea. If foreign nationals were found to be involved in the slave traffic, Munzinger was instructed to inform their respective consuls at the port of Massawā' of the action of their nationals. In the middle of 1873, however, British agents still suspected that slaves were being transported in Egyptian vessels from one port of the Red Sea to another, and subsequently new representations were made to Ismā'īl.[101] In order to demonstrate his willingness to cooperate with Britian in suppressing the slave trade, Ismā'īl now desired to enter into an anti-slavery agreement with Britain. In July 1873, the Egyptian Government submitted a draft of a convention,[102] which formed the basis for the negotiations of the two Conventions concluded in 1877.

The Khedive undertook from the date of signing the convention to prohibit absolutely the importation of any slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) into any part of the territory of Egypt or her dependencies or their transit through her territory, and to punish severely those who may be found engaged in the slave traffic. No Negroes or Abyssinians were to be allowed to leave these territories without being manumitted. All persons found to be engaged in traffic in slaves were to be condemned by the authorities as guilty of stealing with murder. Those offenders who were not Egyptian nationals, were to be handed over to their respective authorities to be tried according to the laws of their countries. All captured slaves were to be set free without exposing them to the risk of falling again into slavery.[103] In order to assist effectively in the suppression of the slave trade it was stipulated that British cruisers could visit and search any Egyptian vessel suspected or found to be directly or indirectly engaged in the slave traffic in the Red Sea, in the Gulf of Aden, along the coast of Arabia and Somaliland, or in Egyptian waters. Those involved were to be detained and handed over to the nearest Egyptian authority. A similar right for the interception and search of ships sailing in the same waters under the British flag was conceded to the Egyptian authorities. Such vessels found to be implicated in the slave traffic were to be handed over to the nearest British authority for trial. In the annex, the Egyptian government undertook to find work for the freed slaves, men and women, and educate their children. A bureau was to be set up to deal with slavery matters, with power to free slaves and to provide for them.[104]

It was agreed that the provisions of the Convention should be at once enforced in Egypt proper as far as Aswān and within three months from the date of signature in "th Egyptian possessions in Upper Africa, and on the shores of the Red Sea". Further, the Khedivial decree of 4 August 1877, stipulated the prohibition of traffic in slaves (white males and females), in Egypt and her dependencies within seven years of the date of the Convention. It was also stipulated that the private sale and purchase of slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) should absolutely cease among families within seven years in Egypt proper, ending in 1884, and twelve years in the Sudan and the dependencies of Egypt, ending in 1889. After the expiration of the stipulated periods, persons found to be guilty of trading in slaves among families were to be punished by a term of imprisonment varying from five months to five years of hard labour according to the findings of the competent tribunals.

It seems that the immediate object of the Convention of 4 August 1877 was to prevent the import, export and public sale and purchase of slaves, while the object of the decree of the same date was to make a distinction between public and private trading in slaves. This clearly shows that Ismā'īl experienced a real dilemma regarding the abolition of slavery in Egypt itself because it struck at the interests of the class of people to whom he himself belonged.

Britain and Egypt had evaded any reference in the Convention to the private trade in Circassian and Georgian slaves because also the British realised the difficulty of uprooting a system that was part of the social order of the time. A. B. Wylde, (the chief of the Slavery Department), went as far as justifying the traffic in white slaves in glowing terms: "We have in fact always shut our eyes to this Traffic as far as we could possibly do so, in as much as it is carried on under circumstances differing entirely from those which characterize the African Slave Trade . . . in one case the Slaves are procured in the first instance by a system of murder and bloodshed which depopulates the country where slave hunting is carried on - in the other victims, if victims they can be called, are voluntary ones, and look forward with pleasure to the change in destiny which awaits them".[105]

The Convention was, however, a first step which was aimed at putting an early end to the trade in African slaves, and to deal a blow to slavery in general. Not only the supply of slaves was to be cut off, but after the prescribed dates, they would cease to be a marketable commodity and the Manumission Burea would make it easier for them to obtain their freedom and be provided for. In these circumstances they would not be an attractive investment.

The application of the Convention was probably manageable in Egypt where fundamental demographic and social changes were taking place since the 1870's, but in the Sudan the problem was far greater. Slavery was more widespread and it was impossible to uproot it by a stroke of a pen. Although the

Slave Trade Convention has been hailed by later writers as a charter of future freedom,[106] it was at the time subjected to fierce criticism. Charles George Gordon held the view that it was completely beyond the powers of the Khedive to execute his treaty with Britain rigorously in the outlaying Provinces.[107] Gordon even thought that Ismā'īl had merely agreed to the Conventions as a "sop" to the British Government to counterbalance "the chries of his creditors"[108] and this may not have been far from the truth. In 1883, Colonel Stewart, in his well-known "Report on the Soudan", maintained that to expect that after 1889, slavery would cease to exist in the Sudan, was to expect almost an impossibility. "It is easy enough to make Treaties on the subject, but a great social question such as this will not be solved by treaties".[109] Both Gordon and Stewart were right. The potential danger of applying this Convention lay in the Sudan, and in the subsequent attempt by the Egyptian Government, driven by the repeated demands of the British Government to suppress the slave trade by 1889. Nevertheless the man who was charged with the execution of the Convention in the Sudan, was Charles G. Gordon.

Gordon and the Slave Trade Convention.

After a brief interval in Britain and Egypt Gordon returned to the Sudan in 1877 as Governor-General of the whole country. He was given absolute military and civil jurisdiction over the vast territory, extending southwards from Wādī Ḥalfa to the Equatorial Province, and from Dār Fūr in the west to the Red Sea coast in the east. In March of the same year, Berbera, Zayla' and Harrar were added to his jurisdiction. Gordon's mandate consisted of the suppression of the slave trade and the improvement of means of communications in the Sudan.[110]

It is important here, however, to point out how the situation in Egypt was on the eve of Gordon's second period of office in the Sudan. Baker's campaign was the beginning of many undertakings by Ismā'īl which demanded much expenditure. The appointment of Munzinger as Governor of Massawā' in 1871, inaugurated a policy of expansion which eventually included the whole Horn of Africa and led to two disastrous campaigns against Ethiopia in 1875-1876.[111] The attempts to penetrate into the Horn of Africa brought almost no tangible benefits to Egypt to compensate for the steady drain on Egypt's limited resources. Between 1863 and 1876, Ismā'īl borrowed recklessly an average of £ 7,000,000 a year, thus increasing the public debt of Egypt which grew from £ 3,293,000 to £ 94,000,000 and out of this large debt there was absolutely nothing to show but the Suez Canal on which £ 16,000,000 of the total had been spent.[112] In addition Ismā'īl had created

an African Empire. Even the shares of Egypt in the Suez Canal Company were sold to Britain in 1876, and thus Egypt was deprived of any revenue of the Suez Canal for which it had paid almost 90% of the expences.[113] In 1875, loans could be raised only at exorbitant rates of interest and on 8 April 1876 Ismā'īl could not afford to pay his treasury bills. A Commission of the Public Debt was established and Commissioners were appointed by the European Powers led by Britain and France. It was in these circumstances that Gordon went to the Sudan and was faced, on his arrival in May 1877, with the necessity of a straightening out the finances of the Sudan. The revenue was far below the expenditure, and his difficulties were increased by the persistent demands of Cairo, that an annual payment should be made by the Sudan to the Egyptian Treasury.[114] With the object of averting a financial crisis in the Sudan, Gordon decided to abandon the improvement and development of communications, especially the construction of a railway between Khartoum and Cairo. In 1878, after only about 27 miles had been constructed, the project of the Sudan Railway was discontinued.[115]

The same financial difficulties were to a large extent responsible for Gordon's decision to evacuate part of the Egyptian Equatorial Provinces. In 1876, the station of Mrooli formed the southern limit of Egypt in Equatoria. When Gordon resigned in 1879, the stations of Mrooli, Keroto, Foweira and Magungo had all been evacuated. The Somerset Nile now formed the limit of Egyptian expansion in the south. Gordon had decided to evacuate these parts towards the end of 1878, when he found out that the deficit in the budget of the Sudan was £ 97,000, while the floating debt of the Government amounted to £327,000.[116]

The problems of raising revenue from a restless and unwilling population presented themselves immediately after Gordon's arrival in the Sudan. In May 1877 he hastened to Dār Fūr where a revolt had broken out. The reasons for the revolt are not difficult to find. The people of Dār Fūr disliked the rule of the Egyptians because of the heavy taxes imposed by them. There was no plan for the equitable assessment and collection of taxes, particularly from the tribes. An immediate reason for the revolt, however, was the suppression of the slave trade. Slave-trading was important to the people in Dār Fūr, and the measures taken by the new government against the slave trade antagonised them. Since the Egyptian conquest of Dār Fūr the slave traders had managed to smuggle arms and ammunition into Dār Fūr and in the course of two years had become a menace to the authority of the Government.[117] In February 1877, Sultan Hārūn al-Rashīd - a pretender to the throne of Dār Fūr - started to challenge the Government. The rebels rallied round him and supported his claims. Gordon, however, managed to suppress the revolt of Hārūn, though only temporarily.

While in al-Fasher in August 1877, Gordon was informed of the activities of the slavers in the south. The slave traders had gathered in full force in Shaqqā. They were so powerful in fact that Gordon admitted that the Government only existed by their tacit consent. They had supporters in Dār Fūr and Kurdufān where many families were slave owners or slave dealers and they strongly opposed the government measures against the slave trade.[118]

After the revolt of Dār Fūr, it seems as if Gordon became convinced that it was impossible to suppress the slave trade by force. He believed that the appointment of Europeans as governors in the provinces would probably help to prevent the clandestine trade in arms and to secure the submission of the people whom Gordon erroneosly believed incapable of resisting the authority of the Europeans.[119] Gordon maintained that the suppression of the slave trade by force, would result into discontent and this would render necessary the deployment of a huge force in the country in order to keep it quiet, and this would increase the financial difficulties. In spite of these considerations, however, in November 1877 Gordon published the Anti-Slavery Convention, the Annexe and the Khedivial Decree throughout the Sudan. But this did not stir any agitation yet. This was due to the policy pursued by Gordon during the Dār Fūr revolt. Gordon succeeded in pacifying and conciliating the revolting tribes. No forcible measures had been taken to suppress the slave trade yet for it was not before the middle of 1878, that Gordon started to embark upon a coercive policy of suppressing the slave traffic in the Sudan.[120]

In July 1878 a change in Gordon's methods appeared. He took the entire responsibility for enforcing the policy of suppression in his hands, and became harsher and less cautious in his measures. This sudden change was due to the consequences of the Slave Trade Convention and the incessant demand of the British Government that the provisions of the treaty should be effectively carried out. The attitude of Britain was demonstrated in the few months that followed the conclusion of the convention in August 1877.

After the conclusion of the Convention in 1877, the Khedive desired to establish a Police Service to patrol the Red Sea coasts and the Gulf of Aden. His object was to establish surveillance over the activities of the slave traders in Egyptian waters to put into effect the provisions of the convention. In September 1877 the Khedive asked the British Government to recommend an officer of the Royal Navy to be in charge of the new service in the Red Sea.[121] The British Government recommended Captain Malcolm, who in January 1878 was appointed by the Egyptian Government, "Director-General of the Egyptian Anti-Slavery Police in the Red Sea". He was delegated juridical powers and authority to verify the slave trade cases.[122] Malcolm at once began his activities as Director-General by making a tour of inspection along the coasts of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. In March 1878, he submitted a report dealing

with the slave traffic particularly along the Somali coast, beyond the straits of Bāb al-Mandab. Malcolm reported that although there was no trade in slaves between the ports Bulhar and Berbera, the traffic was in full swing between Zayla' and Tajūra, and that members of the family of the native governor of Zayla', Abū Bakr Pasha, were implicated in the slave traffic. Malcolm therefore arrested the son of the governor together with other members of the family, and referred the case to the Governor-General of the Sudan.[123]

Gordon opposed the action taken by Malcolm against the ruling family in Zayla'. At this period, he still believed that the government should not take harsh measures for the execution of the convention. He was apprehensive lest any violent attempt to suppress the slave traffic should destroy the peace and security he was trying establish in the Sudan. He feared that prosecution of the relatives of the powerful native ruler would create disturbances and threaten Egypt's authority on the Somalicoast.[124] Besides, Gordon had opposed the appointment of Malcolm from the beginning. The expenses of the new service were to be paid out of the Sudan budget and Gordon considered this to be an unnecessary burden on the Sudan Exchequer.[125]

In May 1878, while on a visit to Zayla', Gordon conciliated the ruler and reinstated his son. Malcolm resigned in protest against the action of the Governor-General, and subsequently Gordon took charge of the task of the suppression of the slave trade in the Red Sea and the Sudan.[126] Meanwhile Gordon was told by the Khedive that he would now be held responsible for taking all measures necessary to enforce the Anti-Slavery-Cenvention. At the same time the British Government again impressed upon the Khedive the necessity of faithfully and entirely carrying out his commitments for the suppression of the trade.[127]

The insistence of the British Government that Slave Trade Convention should be implemented faithfully and completely had unfortunate consequences. For it seems that after July 1878 Gordon's policy was aimed at satisfying the demands of the British Government regarding the suppression of the trade. Gordon wanted to demonstrate that the resignation of Malcolm did not mean any relaxation in the combat against the slave trade.[128] Gordon's new policy of forcible suppression caused widespread discontent and was later to be a factor in the outbreak of the Mahdist Revolt and the loss of the Sudan to Egypt.

In July 1878, Gordon reported to Cairo, that he had seized 697 slave merchants during the last three months.[129] In August and September it was reported that further arrests were made. The British Government now became satisfied with the manner in which the convention was implemented, and expressed her thanks to the Khedive. Thus the policy of violent suppression was encouraged. It was continued vigorously until the early months of

1879.[130] Believing that he could not rely on Egyptian officials and anxious to suppress the trade, Gordon in July 1878 dismissed a large number of them, and in the same month appointed fourteen Europeans in their places.[131] This unwise action diminished the prestige both of the Egyptian officials and the Khedive's Government in the eyes of the Sudanese, aroused the jealousy of the Egyptians and increased their opposition to Gordon's harsh policy, which was backed by Europeans. Besides, the employment of Europeans on such a scale and their subsequent violent suppression caused the operation to be indentified as European and Christian in character, alienated the Sudanese, increased their indignation and thus paved the way for the Mahdist revolt.

Of the Europeans who were engaged by Gordon, Charles Rigolet, a Frenchman, the Austrian Rudolf Slatin and the Italian Emiliani dei Danziger served in Dār Fūr, while Gessi was later made governor of Baḥr al-Ghazāl. Messedaglia, an Italian was made governor of Dār Fūr in May 1879. At Khartoum, the German Geigler was entrusted with all the work that had to do with the manumission of slaves. Another German whom Gordon brought to the Sudan was Eduard Schnitzer, known as Emin Pasha, who was to govern Equatoria from 1878 to 1889.[132]

These Europeans, who so enormously misread the signs in the Sudan, also failed to discern the characteristics of the Sudanese society. They conducted a vigorous war against the slave traders, set the slaves free and prosecuted the slave dealers. Since these governors were Christians their suppression of the slave trade by violence was regarded by the Sudanese as an act of persecution and intolerance and it aroused the religious resentment of the populace in general who maintained that slavery was an institution which was permitted by their religion (as understood by them). In particular, the slave traders bitterly resented this policy of suppression.[133] They retired to Dār Fūr and the Baḥr al-Ghazāl and from the middle of 1878 onwards they were the driving force behind every attempt at revolt. They joined Hārūn al-Rashīd in Dār Fūr and encouraged Sulaymān al-Zubayr in Baḥr al-Ghazāl to rebel against the government. As a matter of fact after 1878, the Sudan became the scene of one rebellion after another which culminated in the Mahdist Revolt in 1882.

In July 1878, Sulaymān at last rebelled in Baḥr al-Ghazāl. The detention of al-Zubayr Raḥma in Egypt had caused disaffection among his followers in Baḥr al-Ghazāl, Kurdufān and Dār Fūr. The supporters of Sulaymān[134] were all slave dealers. They had been driven by Gordon's measures to Dār Fūr and Baḥr al-Ghazāl and in the latter country they induced Sulaymān to rebel against the Government.[135]

An expedition commanded by Gessi advanced from Lado into Baḥr al-Ghazāl and by March 1879 had won several victories over Sulaymān. At this

point two further rebellions broke out, in Kurdufān and Dār Fūr respectively. In Kurdufān, Ṣubāhī, a former general of al-Zubayr tried to take over control of the province and rebelled against the Government. In Dār Fūr, Hārūn al-Rashīd encouraged by the troubles in Baḥr al-Ghazāl started a new revolt in March 1879.[136]

In April 1879, the situation in the Sudan was serious. At Cairo the financial difficulties of the Khedive and the interference of the Powers in the administration of the country, had resulted in a series of crises that paralysed the action of government during the early months of 1879. It was therefore of the utmost importance that the Sudan should be kept in a state of peace and oreder, and in February Gordon had received instructions from Cairo to hold the Sudan in complete tranquillity. Gordon was therefore determined to put down the revolt in Dār Fūr and Baḥr al-Ghazāl with force and vigour.[137]

Gordon led an expedition into Kurdufān, put down the rising there, and proceeded to concert plans with Gessi for dealing with the other rebellions. In consequence of this meeting, Gessi pursued Sulaymān into Dār Fūr, where the rebels surrendered in July 1879, Sulaymān and nine of his chief men were shot on the following day:[138] a measure which increased the indignation of the people against the government. Gessi returned to the Baḥr al-Ghazāl, which he administered for some months. The rising in Dār Fūr was in the meantime suppressed by G. B. Messedaglia, the Governor-General of Dār Fūr, and was terminated by the death of the pretender in July 1880. The suppression of the rebellions had saved the situation for the time being, but lasting peace had not been attained, and in 1881, the Mahdist revolt broke out and the Sudan was lost to Egypt.[139]

Meanwhile, in June 1879, Khedive Ismā'īl was deposed. Gordon, who had decided not to stay in Egypt if anything happened to Ismā'īl, left Khartoum in July 1879 and resigned from the Egyptian service in 1880.

The resignation of Gordon and the deposition of Ismā'īl resulted in a revival of the slave trade in the Sudan. In a few months the caravan trade in slaves was resumed along the old routes from Dār Fūr and Baḥr al-Ghazāl to Egypt and the Eastern Sudan. The Baqqāra of Kurdufān started anew their slave raids in the neighbouring countries.[140] Ships which were carrying slaves came from the Upper White Nile, when arriving at the government station of Fashoda, they disembarked the slaves and then put them on board again after passing the station. The revival of the slave trade was due to the weakness of the Khartoum Administration, and the new Governor-General Muḥammad Ra`ūf. The complicated and dangerous condition of the Sudan was beyond his powers to manage and he adopted a mild policy which enabled the slave trade to revive, although on a diminished scale since the great merchants of the previous decade were now either dead or powerless. Furthermore, he dismissed

Gordon's lieutenants in the pacification of the west, Gessi and Messedaglia, thereby undermining still further the precarious administration fo the Baḥr al-Ghazāl and Dār Fūr.[141]

The reaction that had set in after the fall of Ismā'īl and the departure of Gordon was so violent that the efforts of Ra`ūf proved inadequate to suppress the slave trade. The result was widespread discontent among both the slave traders and the whole people of the Sudan, which cuiminated in the Mahdist Revolt. The policy of suppression which was persistently implemented since 1863, especially under Baker and Gordon had alienated the Sudanese people who believed that slavery was permitted by their religion. The fact that the campaign against slavery was conducted by Christians made the people think that the government was acting against their religion. Moreover, the attempts to suppress the slave trade struck at an important source of wealth and had shaken the basis of the domestic and agrarian economy which was based on slave labour.[142] After the Convention Gordon had liberated many slaves, moreover, a large number of slaves, taking advantage of the new order of things, applied for and obtained their freedom. Their masters were not compensated for the loss of their slaves. In spite the people's economic losses, the taxes remained unchanged. The suffering of the Sudanese increased, especially since 1877 and afterwards when the policy of suppression was carried out with vigour, and no attempt was made to reduce taxes.[143] On the contrary, the Government, under Ra`ūf showed no mercy in the collection of taxes, and force was used to collect them. On the other hand, he permitted the slave trade to revive. When in 1877 and 1879, Hārūn al-Rashīd and Sulaymān rebelled against the Government, they had relied chiefly on the support of the slave traders, but they had failed to gain over the rest of the population. This had made it easier for Gordon and his lieutenants to suppress the rebeilion. But in 1881, matters were different. The appearance of the "Mahdi" Muḥammad Aḥmad provided the leadership necessary to unite all the discontented forces of the country to achieve the termination of the Egyptian rule in the Sudan.

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CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

There is no duobt that the violent methods employed by Gordon against the slave traders caused economic dislocation and aroused the hostility of the people. Thus the struggle against the slave trade was one of the causes of the Mahdist revolt affecting as it did all classes of society and every part of the country. Moreover, Gordon's excessive employment of Europeans in his campaigns against the slave traders provoked native resentment against all foreigners, including the Egyptians.

Slatin, who had been one of Gordon's lieutenants and was governor of Dār Fūr in 1881, when the Mahdist started to overrun the province, stated that "there is no doubt that our attitude (Gordon and his lieutenants), in regard to the slave question caused widespread discontent. The religion permitted slavery, and from time immemorial the ground had been cultivated and cattle tended by slaves . . . Now we, by our activity and energy, had not only made the export of slaves from Black countries almost impossible, but we listened to the complaints of slaves against their masters, and invariably set them free. Muḥammad Aḥmad cleverly seized the occasion of all this discontent to act; he was aware that religion was the only possible means of uniting all this discordant elements and widely diversified tribes, who were at continual feud with each other; therefore he declared himself the "Mahdi" (the one guided by God) . . . , hoping by this means to drive out of the country the hated Turks, Egyptians and Europeans".[1]

In the Sudan the proclamation of the Mahdīya in the second half of 1881, synchronized with the army revolt in Egypt under the leadership of 'Urābī Pasha, which first aimed at equality between the officers of the Egyptian army, irrespective of whether they were Turks or Egyptians, and ultimately ended in a revolt and in the British occupation. The deposition of Khedive Ismā'īl in 1879 had created a vacuum in the centre of power and swept away the prestige which had surrounded the ruling family from the time of Muḥammad 'Alī. Ismā'īl's son and successor, Muḥammad Tawfīq was a lesser man and a puppet of the great powers. The resignation of Gordon after the deposition of Ismā'īl created another kind of vacuum in the Sudan. The new Governor-General, Muḥammad Ra`ūf, was not the type of man to effectively control the situation after the departure of Gordon, which led to a further break-down of authority there and a favourable climate for a major rebellion.

Gordon returned to Khartoum in 1884 to evacuate the Egyptian garrison. Soon afterwards Khartoum fell and he was killed. Thereafter and until the Anglo-Egyptian conquest of 1898 the northern Sudan was in the hands of the Mahdi and his successor the Khalīfa 'Abdallāhi ibn Muḥammad. Slaving was now unchecked but the export of slaves to Egypt was strictly prohibited. The trade was confined to the provinces under the Khalīfa's control. In prohibiting the export of slaves, the Khalīfa, presupposing that the Egyptians would once more resort to recruiting slaves for their army, acted on the principle that he should not increase the power of his adversaries at his own expense. It was impossible for him to absolutely prevent slaves being taken occasionally to Egypt or across the Red Sea to Arabia, but the slave caravans which were formerly sent from the Sudan had almost completely stopped.[2]

After the Anglo-Egyptian conquest of the Sudan, much of Egypt's and Britain's efforts were directed against slavery in the Sudan and the slave trade to Arabia. In spite of the establishment of an effective administration, slavery in the Sudan was not suppressed until well into the twentieth century, as was the case with slavery in Saudi-Arabia, which was not officially abolished until November 1962.

In conclusion, it should be remembered that slavery in Egypt was always marginal to the society and even when it involved considerable numbers, it was mainly the concern of the rulers, who recruited the manpower they wanted in the form of slaves, e.g. the army of Muḥammad 'Alī, and some of the large agricultural projects of the viceregal family. In the northern and western Sudan, slavery permeated society to a much more fundamental degree. The implications of this difference are obvious. While no forceful measures were taken to abolish the slave trade or slavery in Egypt, in the Sudan the combination of the faults of the Egyptian administration and the measures to suppress the slave trade eventually led to the Mahdīya and the destruction of the Egyptian rule in the Sudan.

On November 21, 1895, a new more comprehensive Anti-Slavery Convention between Britain and Egypt was signed at Cairo.[3] It prohibited all the import and export of all kinds of slaves, including white ones, and a detailed regulation for the Red Sea shipping and checking the slave traffic in that Sea was annexed to it.[4] The sale of slaves from family to family was also prohibited. Penalties were also fixed for owners or captains of ships transporting slaves.[5]

The final disappearance of slavery, however, was mainly the result of the socio-economic developments which Egypt experienced during the las two decades of the 19th century. Before the 1880's the free labour market was fairly limited. Labour was supplied by guilds, each of which monopolized its specific craft or trade, and there were few opportunities for outsiders.[6]

During the 1880's and the 1890's, most of the impediments to the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in Egypt had vanished. The Mahdist revolution had finally cut off the main source of supply, but the Egyptian society was also in a state of transformation. The most important change affecting slavery was the increase of the population and the development of a free labour market. Moreover, the guild system broke down and in 1890 the complete freedom of all trades was announced. The last function of the guild *shaykhs,* that is of supplying labour, disappeared during the first decade of the 20th century. In the countryside, agricultural slaves were not needed any longer. Whereas during the first part of the century Egypt suffered a shortage of manpower, the increase of the population had gradually brought about the beginning of a population surplus. Thus landowners expanding their farms had at their disposal plenty of free agricultural labour, and nobody thought about acquiring slaves, as farmers had done in the 1860's.

At the same time an important section of the Egyptian society had changed their attitude toward slavery as a result of their cultural contact with Europe. This was prominently shown when the Decrees on slavery and the slave trade were submitted to the Legislative Council in 1895. No exception whatever was taken to the general principles of the proposed legislation, and not a single view opposing the suppression of slavery and the slave trade was expressed during the discussions of these laws.[7]

The disappearance of slavery in Egypt must be seen within the context of these changes: the official measures against the slave trade and slavery, coinciding with the socio-economic transformation of the Egyptian society had effectively undermined the demand for slaves and led to the final disappearance of the institution of slavery toward the end of the nineteenth century. This development came later in the Sudan due to both the difference of the economic and social conditions and the interlude of the Mahdīya.

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1. Von Slatin, R.C., *Fire and Sword in the Sudan,* London 1897, pp. 56-57.
2. Ibid., p. 57.
3. Parl. Papers, Treaty Series, No. 6, 1896, C. 8011, pp. 1 - 19.
4. Ibid., pp. 9-11.
5. Ibid., pp. 15-17.
6. Baer, *Studies,* "Decline and Disappearance of the Guilds", pp. 149-59.
7. Parl. Papers, Egypt No. 1, 1896, C. 7978, p. 22.

NOTE ON SOURCES AND LITERATURE

Official Papers

The Egyptian National Archives *(Dār al-wathā'iq al-qawmīyya),* formerly at the 'Abdīn Palace, were moved to the Citadel of Cairo in 1969. They are an indispensable source for the study of Egypt and her Sudanese dominions. The Arabic documents covering the period of the Egyptian administration in the Sudan 1820-1882 are kept in 44 boxes. Turkish documents of the period of Muḥammad 'Alī were translated into Arabic by the staff of the archive. There is also a large number of "Foreign Office" files of which *Corresp. francaise* 71/72/73 have been used. These contain French and English correspondence. Some documents are not available in the original but copies of these were brought to Egypt from the Austrian and other archives to be at the disposal of Mr. George Douin and other researchers.

In the Sudan there are no public archives for the Egyptian period. However, the possibility of new discoveries must not be excluded.

The foreign archives of European states also contain materials on the subject of this dissertation. England was the Power most interested in the question of the slave trade. Early in the nineteenth century, she started her official intervention to curb the slave trade in Egypt and her Sudanese dominions. This can be studied in the dispatches and letters of the Foreign Office Records in the Public Record Office, London. The material consists mainly of consular intelligence from British agents in Egypt, the Sudan and Arabia, dealing largely with trade and slavery. Some of this material has been published as Parliamentary Papers.

Travel Literature and Published Works

The travel literature contains a wide range of articles and books of uneven quality and reliability. Historians interested in nineteent-century Muslim slavery are hampered by the inadequacy and unreliability of most of these sources. The views of many contemporary European travellers and observers were influenced by the fact that their conception of slavery was derived from America. They made vague generalizations without establishing a clear frame of reference and they rarely analysed the real difference between free men and slaves. Thus, much of the information given by them must be treated critically, especially in the case of numbers since they were mainly guesswork or based on inaccurate oral information. There is a useful article on the travel literature by Abbas Ibrahim Muḥammad 'Alī, "A History of European geographical exploration of the Sudan 1820-1865", *Sudan Notes and Records,* LV, 1974, 1-15.

The authors' knowledge of Arabic, the length of their stay, their attitudes towards what they saw and heard, and their ability to write down their impressions were important factors which determined the quality of their writings. Among the individuals who visited and wrote about the Sudan and Egypt, during the period dealt with in this dissertation, I have found the following to be the most informative:

Dr. Arthur T. *Holroyd,* a British physician, made a journey through the Sudan in 1836-37. He travelled as far as al-Ubayyiḍ. During his journey he acquired firsthand information on the slave trade in the Sudan. When he returned to England he published his impressions in an article in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,* entitled "Notes on a Journey to Kordofan 1836-37" (vol. ix 1839).

Dr. John *Bowring,* famous for his *Report on Egypt and Candia* was in Egypt in 1837 to fulfil the special fact-finding mission entrusted to him by Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary. Bowring was an abolitionist and, in

1840, he played an important part in the Anti-Slavery Convention held in London. His anti-slavery sentiment motivated him to show great interest in the slave trade in the Nile Valley. His primary object was to search for reliable information on the subject. In his search he turned to Dr. Holroyd, who had just returned from his journey, to furnish him with whatever data he had collected from the Sudan.

Endowed with the abilities of a liberally-minded intellectual and investigator, Bowring, produced a remarkable report on the issues of the slave trade and slavery in Egypt and the Sudan. Despite his anti-slavery zeal, Bowring tried to be as objective as possible in his attempts to describe the nature and extent of the trade in African slaves. He also advanced proposals for the migitation, diminution, and final extinction of the slave trade in north-eastern Africa.

The best book from the early nineteenth century is J.L. Burckhardt's, *Travels in Nubia.* Burckhardt was a scholar who spoke Arabic fluently and his book is regarded as very accurate and reliable. G. Schweinfurth's *Travels in Africa,* from the latter half of the century, also belongs to the good travel literature on Egypt and Africa.

Until recently historians seem not to have shown much interest in the Egyptian Sudan, and most histories of the Egyptian regime were written entirely from western sources, placing too much reliance on the accounts written by contemporary European writers, who were interested partisans, for or against the Viceroys. Such were H. Dehérain's *Le Soudan égyptien sous Mehmet* Ali, (Paris 1898) and O. Abbate Pasha's *Le Soudan sous le regne du Khédive Ismail,* (Paris 1905). These authors - and there were others - did not have access to material at the disposal of the Egyptian Government.

About 1900 *Nā'ūm Bey Shuqayr* (Naum Shoucair) wrote the first comprehensive history of the Sudan to be published. He was the first to make extensive use of Sudanese original documents and oral tradition. His *Ta`rīkh al-*

Sūdān was published in Cairo in 1903. Because the author was an Arabic-speaking member of the Egyptian military intelligence organization controlled by Major F.R. Wingate, he took an important part in the gathering of information from Sudanese sources in the later years of the Mahdīya and during and after the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest of the Sudan. After the fall of Omdurman in September 1898 he was responsible for assembling and investigating the Mahdist archives and he incorporated many documents in his book. Other material was derived from Sudanese manuscripts, chronicles and oral sources. The lack of a translation of this work into a European language delayed for many years the advent of a balanced western appraisal of Sudanese history.

G. *Douin,* a former official of the Suez Canal Company, followed Nā'ūm Shuqayr's path, using the documents of the Egyptian National Archives. His *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail,* (Cairo 1930-41) and *Histoire du Soudan égyptien, La pénétration, 1820-1822* (Cairo 1944) are the most comprehensive and accurate secondary works on Egypt and the Sudan in this period. Douin had his Turkish and Arabic sources translated for him by officials of the archives.

Periodicals

European geographical journals, notably *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* of Paris, as well as the *Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie* (with various titles) of Cairo dealt chiefly with exploration, administration, economics, and ethnology, in both the Sudan and Egypt.

The only learned journal devoted wholly to Sudanese studies is the English-language *Sudan Notes and Records* (Khartoum). This periodical first appeared in 1918, and now publishes one issue a year. The contributors up to 1956 were chiefly Sudan Government officials. The periodical is a mine of

information on all aspects of Sudanese studies, but its articles are of very varied quality.

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E.N.A. Corresp. fran. 72/1. Caire 15 Avril 1869. Contrat . . . entre Son Altesse Ismail Pacha . . . et le Chevalier Sir Samuel W. Baker.

Le suisdit Sir Samuel W. Baker s'engage à entrer dans le service de Son Altesse Ismail Pacha Viceroi d'Egypte, et à devenir l'employé du Gouvernement Egyptien dès le 1er avril 1869. - pendant un terme de deux ans au moins a partir de cette date; pour commander une expédition dans le but d'annexer à l'Egypte tous les pays compris dans le Bassin du Nil de l'Afrique Centrale.

Le 1er but de la susmentionnée expédition serait d'établir le Gouvernement Egyptien dans les pays du Nil blanc, - pays qui sont actuellement habités par des nations sauvages sans lois, sans gouvernement et sans sureté.

2° De supprimer la piraterie des chasseurs d'esclaves du Nil Blanc.

3° D'introduire un système de commerce légitime, dont les résultats seront avantageux à l'Egypte.

4° D'ouvrir à la navigation les grands lacs des districts de l'Equator qui forment les sources principales du Nil.

5° D'établir un cordon de stations militaires de commerce de Gondokoro dans tout le bassin Central du Nil - à des distances de trois journées de marche entr'elles, pour assurer une communication entre le point le plus distant et la base d'opération.

6° Après l'achèvement de ces lignes de stations militaires de commerce, - d'annexer les pays dans lesquels elles passent, à l'Empire d'Egypte qui alors aura une étendue des sources du Nil jusqu'à la Méditerranée.

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Ainsi l'Egypte aura pris les premiers pas vers la civilation de ces nations qui sont actuellement inutiles au monde, hostiles les unes aux autres, et qui rendent impossible toute amélioration jusqu'à ce qu'elles n'ont été soumises à l'Autorité et à la protection du Drapeau Egyptien et que le pays soit ouvert au commerce.

Par le commandement de cette Expédition Son Altesse le Viceroi Ismail Pacha d'Egypte consent à payer au susdit Sir Samuel W. Baker la somme de dix mille livres sterling par an en dehors de tous ses frais de voyage, et que ces appointements seront payés par semestre.

Son Altesse Ismail Pacha consent à conférer sur le susdit Sir Samuel W. Baker le grade nécessaire pour le susdit commandement avec pouvoir absolu, meme celui de la mort, sur tous ceux qui formeront partie de l'Expédition mise sous sa direction, ainsi que le meme pouvoir sur tous les pays au sud de la latitude de 14° du Nord qui seront inclus dans le Bassin du Nil.

Son Altesse Ismail Pacha consent à céder au susdit Sir Samuel W. Baker une "Carte Blanche" pour préparer et obtenir tout ce qu'il croira nécessaire à l'Expedition, et Son Altesse Ismail Pacha Vice-roi d'Egypte s'engage que le Gouvernement Egyptien payera ces. frais.

Son Altesse Ismail Pacha Viceroi d'Egypte consent à ce que tous les hommes, les munitions, les batiments et tout ce que le susdit Sir Samuel Baker trouvera nécessaire à l'Expedition, lui seront fournis d'après ses demandes.

En cas de la mort du susdit Sir Samuel W. Baker pendant le première année de sa charge, point de deducation ne sera faite par le Gouvernement Egyptien, de l'appointement de l'année, mais la somme entière de £10.000 sera payée à sa veuve, à ses heritiers et aux administrateurs de sa succession.

Dans le cas de la mort du susdit Sir Samuel W. Baker pendant la seconde année ou dans une année subsequente de son engagement, le meme principe sera observé par le Gouvernement Egyptien savoir, que la somme entière due à

Sir Samuel W. Baker comme appointement de l'année courante sera payée à sa veuve ou à sa succession.

Le susdit Sir Samuel W. Baker donnera toute sa capacité à la direction de l'Expedition dans les meilleurs intérets de son Altesse Ismail Pacha Viceroi d'Egypte.

Alexandrie,
27 Mars 1869

(signé) Samuel White Baker

Document No. 2.

E.N.A. Corresp. Fran. 72/1. Le Caire Février 1872.

Lettre de S.A. Le Khedive à Sir Samuel W. Baker.

Mon cher Sir Samuel

J'ai recu le rapport que vous m'avez envoyé en date du 8 octobre de la situation d'Ismailia, où vous etes parvenu après un voyage, de plus de cinq mois. Avant de vous faire connaitre mes réponses aux questions que vous m'adressez et mes idées sur la situation actuelle, je vous adresse toutes mes félicitations sur le succès de votre marche, sur l'énergie qu'il vous a fallu déployer pour surmonter les obstacles que la nature meme a mis sur votre route.

J'exprime aussi ma satisfaction pour le courage et la patience des troupes que j'ai placées sous votre commandement, obligées non seulement de se frayer une route au milieu des marais, mais de trainer après elles et un bateau à vapeur et des barques chargées.

La subordination à son chef étant le premier devoir de tout officier, je vais rappeler Raouf Bey, contrelequel vous me portez plainte. Cependant dans le jugement de la conduite de cet officier, je n'oublierai pas les fatigues qu'il a supportées, les privations qu'il a endurées, et qu'il a aidé ses soldats à endurer jusqu'au manque meme de nourriture, puisque d'après ce que vous me dites, vous manquiez de dourah, que vous avez été obligé d'envoyer chercher à Khartoum. J'enverrai un autre officier pour prendre sa place. Le terme que j'avais assigné à Akad pour se retirer du Soudan et d'incorporer ses hommes parmi vos troupes et meme de remplacer vos troupes entièrement par les gens composant les bandres d'Akad, comme étant plus rompus aux fatigues et plus habitués au pays. Je diffère sur ce point complètement d'opinion avec vous. Votre mission est une mission de pacification et de progrès. Vous étes appelé à concilier les

habitants du pays avec les hommes à peau blanche, qui; jusqu'à présent ne se sont introduite dans leur que pour les tuer, les piller et faire des esclaves. Si j'ai payé des sommes considérables à Akad et à ceux qui se livraient à cette espèce de commerce, ou plutot de brigandage, ce n'est pas pour réléver aux tribus indigènes mon gouvernement sous aucun de pillage; or si les indigénes voyaient sous vos ordres les compagnons d'Akad, ils seraient nécessairement conduits à penser que le système est le meme et que, au lieu de leur porter la paix et la tranquillité au lieu de faire régner le calme et l'ordre parmi eux, vous venez comme les anciens négriers, et plus fort que les anciens négriers, leur enlever leur dourah, leurs bestiaux et la population elle-meme.

Vous devez au contraire, vous efforcer de bien marquer dans l'espri des chefs tribus la différence qu'il y a entre vous et les anciens commercants négriers. - Ceci est un point essentiel que vous ne devez jamais perdre de vue, et, si je comprends bien votre rapport, j'y vois avec regret que le manque de provisions et de dourah, vous a amené à recourir à la force pour vous en procurer, les indigènes refusant sans doute de vous en céder, parce qu'ils confondaient dans leur idée, les hommes que vous commandez avec ceux qui les ont toujours dépouillés. Quelque pénible que soit par lui-meme le manque de dourah pour des hommes qui ont à endurer tant de fatigues, il est facheux que ce manque de provisions ait eu pour premier effet de vous mettre en collision avec les indigènes, de montrer votre mission sous un aspect différent de son vrai caractère.

J'attache une importance considérable à l'impression première que vous devez produire parmi les tribus sauvages que nous cher-chons à nous attacher aussi, je suis conduit tout naturellement à vous dire mes idées aux-quelles je vous prie de vous conformer, ce sont les suivantes:

Vous etes arrivé dans un pays beau et fertile. Vous etes entouré de populations déliantes et rendues hostiles par les agissements antérieurs des Négriers;

agissements auxquels votre mission est d'abord de mettre fin. Vos communication avec Khartoum sont longues et pénibles. Dans ces conditions, il me paraitrait imprudent de vous avancer au loin, en laissant derrière vous des tribus qui ne seraient pas pacifiées à la confiance. Arretez-vous à Gondokoro, fortifiez-vous, commencez votre ovre, en employant tous les moyens pour la faire connaitre aux chefs des tribus. - Monopolisez le commerce ainsi que vous le proposez, non pas que je sois ami du monopolie, mais parce que ici, il est justifié: car il est nécessaire pour écarter des traficants qui se servent d'esclaves en guise de valeur d'echange. Seulement exercez le d'une manière large et libérale, et vous arrivez alors promptement à substituer parmi les indigénes un intéret licite à un intéret illicite.

Je veux etre instruit des articles d'échanges qui pourront intéresser le plus les indigènes. Vous avez Inglebathom. Je pense qu'un ingénieur seul n'est pas suffisant: - j'enverrai un autre, pour servir sous ses ordres; - Occupez les à chercher les moyens de faciliter vos communications avec Khartoum. Vous etes fort à regard des chefs du Barri. Soyez également juste envers eux, ils auront confiance en vous et apprenderont bien vite alors ce que vous etes venu leur enseigner.

Tout ce travail moral et matériel, vous prendra du temps; je ne sais combien; mais lorsque vous l'aurez mené à un certain point, soyez persuadé que sans bouger de Gondokoro, vous serez ouvert une route facile vers les lacs dont plus de 100 lieues vous séparent.

Je vous trace à grands traits la ligne de conduite que je desir vous voir tenir. C'est à vous, à votre intelligence de trouver le moyen de parvenir au but. En un mot, n'avancez pas, enseignez, colonisez, rendez vous les habitants amis, et, une fois ceci fait, avancez.

Je ne puis trop appuyer sur mes idées à ce sujet. Vous voyez vous meme l'ésprit des troupes que vous commandez; elles ont supporté admirablement les

fatigues, la faim, les privations, elles vous ont suivi. Actuellement vous commencez à perdre de votre ascendant sur elles. - Si vous avancez elles pourront etre tentées de vous abandonner; l'idée de supporter de nouvelles fatigues peut porter au desespoir des hommes déja affaiblis; l'idée de se fixer pour un temps dans un pays fertile rendra les hommes à eux-memes, et le changement du Colonel en montrant combien vous etes soutenu dans votre mission par moi, ramenera l'obéissance et la discipline parmi eux. Rappeler ces troupes pour les remplacer par les aventuriers d'Akad, est impossible pour les raisons que je vous ai expliquées, les rappeler pour en envoyer des fraiches, ce serait avant leur arrivée dans le pays des Barri, jeter le découragement parmi ces nouvelles troupes. Gardez vos hommes, laissez les se reposer et vous les trouverez au moment d'aller en avant. Ainsi à tous les points de vue, il faut vous arreter dans votre marche en avant, et cela comme je vous l'ai dit, pour pouvoir ensuite atteindre plus facilement et plus surement mon but.

Vous désirez voir vos pouvoirs prolongés d'une année, j'y consens avec plaisir, et mes ordres seront donnés à cet effet. - Comme successeur vous me proposez votre neveu. - Certes l'expérience qu'il à acquise sous vos ordres est un titre de recommendation à mes yeux. Mais l'idée d'ouvrir le centre de l'Afrique à la science, au Commerce, au progrès, est une idée si grande et elle s'est emparée de moi à un si haut point, que je crois devoir apporter la plus grande circonspection dans le choix de ceux que je chargerai de la réaliser. Je ne puis donc, quant à presént, vous donner aucune réponse à ce sujet, j'y réfléchirai.

Recevez, Mon cher Sir Samuel, l'assurance de mes meilleurs sentiments.

Document No. 3.

English translation of the Exalted Command addressed to the Province of the Southern Sudan on 20 rabi al-awwal of the year 1290 (corresponding to the Gregorian date 18 May 1873), No. 16. Its honourable text is as follow:

In spite of Our repeated orders and commands for the stoppage of the Slave Trade, and in spite of the indefatigable exertions of government officials to do so, it has come to Our knowledge that, owing to the vast area of the Sudanese provinces and the many routes over which the slave traffic customarily follows, the trade continues to take place in some localities. And as you well know that the abolition of the slave trade is one of the most important policies of the government, we expect you to give the matter your utmost attention. This means that all persons concerned should be ever alert. Should any of your personnel come across a slave caravan, he should immediately free those slaves and give them the usual government manumission papers. And if any of them wish to be escorted back to their homes, you should arrange accordingly provided that their homes lie within the government frontiers, and you should take measures that no one will recapture them and bring them back as slaves. As for those who cannot be returned to their homes or who do not desire to be so returned you may employ them in cultivating the land, and the young ones among them, whether male or female, should be attached to offices to be educated. The Girls who are old enough to be married should be married off to those who desire them in marriage.

Should you notice that some governors in neighbouring provinces and are not under your direct supervision, are neither aiding the abolition of the slave trade nor keen to do so, you should report them to us at once so that We may deal with them. Further, if you should find slaves being carried for sale in

native traders boats you are to confiscate literally all the boats, free the slaves and treat them as required above. If the slaves are discovered in boats belonging to foreigners you should free the slaves and officially notify the consul of the national to whom such boat belongs. In addition, if you have knowledge of slaves being held in areas outside your jurisdiction you should attempt to stop them in the way mentioned above.

It is Our hope and purpose to do Our best to abolish the slave trade by every possible means. As this is one of the most important issues, We have issued this Exalted Order to you to carry into effect. We have also issued Our commands to all other governors of the Sudanese provinces. N. B. The male adults among the slaves who are captured and freed by you should be enrolled in the army if they are fit and are willing to be enlisted.

—o—o—o—

The General Governor having received the Exalted Order from the Khedive, transmits it to officials under his jurisdiction.

We have been honoured to receive the Generous Order dated . . . a copy of which is attached. Its purpose is to draw your attention to the importance of abolishing the slave trade. You should try to capture all slaves brought into your region whether by land or water and free them and give them government manumission papers. I write this to remind you of the importance of your being most attentive to the requirements of the Exalted Command. I write to remind you of the importance of being very attentive to its provisions. And you of the importance of being very attentive to its provisions. And you should know that if you capture any slaves you must take the prescribed action on them. You will be held entirely responsible for any failure to arrest slaves moving in your jurisdiction.

Document No. 4.

E.N.A. Corresp. Fran. 71/3. Le Caire 16.2.1874.

Instructions données à Monsieur le Colonel Gordon.

Monsieur le Colonel

Au moment de votre départ pour les provinces dont je vous ai confié le gouvernement, je désire appeler votre attention d'une manière plus particulière sur les points dont je vous ai déjà entretenu.

La province que vous allez organiser et administrer est un pays peu connu. Jusque vers ces derniers temps elle à été explotés par les aventuriers qu'y faisaient le trafic de l'ivoire conjointement avec celui des esclaves, ainsi que vous le savez leur mode de prodéder consistait à établir des comptoirs, à y entretenir des hommes armés et à y faire avec les tribus environnant des esclavages forcés. Mon Gouvernement depuis déjà nombre d'années, et lorsque ces provinces n'étaient pas incorporées au gouvernorat Général du Soudan dans le but de faire cesser un commerce illicite et inhumain, a cru devoir indemniser les chefs de ces établissements et acheter leurs comptoirs.

Une partie de ces chefs quitta le pays, mais d'autres sous l'engagement formel de ne point se livrer au trafic des esclaves, demanderent et abtinrent de mon Gouvernement l'autorisation d'y trafiquer, sous la surveillance des autorités du Khartoum et sous certains conditions. Mais la surveillance des autorités du Khartoum ne pouvait que s'exercer faiblement sur ces contrées éloignées de communications difficiles et sur des bandes qui jusqu'alors n'avaient reconnu aucune loi.

C'est cet état de choses qui m'a amené naturellement à séparer le gouvernement de ces provinces de celui de Khartoum, à leur donner une administration

propre et à décreter le monopole du commerce des échanges.

C'est en effet le seul moyen efficace, le seul possible pour faire cesser un trafic qui s'est fait jusqu' à présent à main armée, qui s'est exercé comme le brigandage et de rompre avec des habitudes séculaires.

Votre premier soin dono, Monsieur le Colonel est de veiller strictement à l'application de ce principe car je vous le répète, pour le commencement c'est le seul moyen de mettre fin au trafic barbare qui s'éxercait jusqu' à présent. Les habitudes de brigandage une fois perdues, le commerce libre pourra s'exercer sans danger.

Conjointement à l'application du monopole commercial vous serez appelè à vous occuper des bandes qui existent encore dans le pays. Une partie des hommes qui les composaient a disparu mais il en reste encore. Je pense que vous devez accepté le service et utiliser selon leur caractère et à des travaux auxquels ils sont propres, ceux qui consentent à abandonner leur métier et à vous faire leur soumission mais vous devez poursuivre et appliquer toute la rigueur des lois militaires à tous ceux qui d'une manière ouverte ou determinée continueraient leur ancien trafic et ne romperaient pas avec leur habitudes de brigandage.

Ceux là, Monsieur le Colonel ne doivent trouver en vous ni remission ni merci. Tout le monde là bas doit enfin comprendre que les hommes parcequ'ils sont d'une couleur différente ne consituent pas une marchandise et que la vie et la liberté sont choses sacrées.

Je vous prie Monsieur le Colonel d'éviter aussi la faute dans laquelle on est tombée et qui a amené un grand mal centre lequel vous aurez à lutter. Je veux parler du manque de vivres, on s'est reposé sur les tribus environnantes, on n'a pas songé aux longueurs et aux difficultés des communications avec Khartoum, on a negligé consequement la culture des terres et on s'est trouvé obligé pour vivre prendre les récoltes de Mais des tribus auxquelles on avait mission d'inspi-

rer de la confiance et de servir d'exemple. La confiance consequement disparue; il faudra donc la rétablir. Se pourvoir de provision au Khartoum est chose difficile, mais vous avez le choix des emplacements et il me semble que la position du Gondokoro placée au milieu d'un pays ingrat, est mal choisie. Il me semble qu'en transportant votre établissement principal vers le sud vous pourriez vite vous suffire à vous meme. Etablissez vous donc partout ou la terre produit et nourrit, cela ne vous sera pas difficile.

Vous trouverez dans ce travil de culture de quoi employer les indigénes qui se trouvent encore dans les campements et qui ont été saisis sur les trafiquants, ceux qui appartiennent aux tribus environnantes qui désireraient rentrer chez eux et qui pourraient arriver jusqu'au territoire de leur tribus sans danger devront etre renvoyés chez eux. C'est ce que j'ai toujours recommandé, ceux au contraire pour le voyage serait dangereux, à cause de la difficulté de communication et des tribus hostiles, seront employés aux travaux agricoles et à l'ouverture des communications sur lesquelles surtout j'appelle votre attention, car j'éspère que vous voudrez bien étudier un système complet de communication.

Le Nil est la voie indiquée, mais vous que des rapides empechent la navigation sur une longueur d'environ 70 milles. C'est à vous d'étudier cette question des rapides et à m'indiquer la solution qui vous paraitra la plus pratique en vue des communications.

Le dernier point qui me reste à toucher est relatif à vos relations avec les chefs des peuplades qui s'étendent du coté des lacs. Ma seule recommandation sur ce point est d'eviter tout acte qui pourrait les effrayer et les alièner, vous devez tout faire pour gagner leur confiance.

Pour celà il vous faudra respecter leur territoire vous attacher les chefs par des présents et vous éfforcer par l'influence que vous ne pouvez manquer d'acquérir, d'éxercer la police parmi les tribus, vous devez chercher à empecher les guerres que se front les différents chefs pour faire des esclaves, seulement

sur ce point, vous recommande la plus grande circonspection, dans les commencements il sera probablement impossible d'empecher comiètement les guerres entre les tribus, mais alors il faut prendre garde que les vainqueurs ne soient amenés à tuer leurs prisonniers, faute de pouvoir en trafiquer. C'est un danger que je vous signale et c'est là surtout que vous devez déployer tout votre tact et votre intelligence. C'est principalement ce point qui devra vous amener à prendre sur vous la police de ces tribus mais si vous étes obligé de le faire je vous recommande d'éviter de prendre la place des chefs et d'exercer l'autorité en leur lieu et place, mais au contraire d'éxercer cette autorité par leur intermédiaire et qu'il vous sera facile de faire en vous attachant les chefs, en vous faisant craindre par eux.

Je ne crois pas, Mon Cher Colonel avoir autre chose à ajouter aux idées que je vous ai données et pour les appliquer ainsi que pour les complèter je compte entièrement sur votre caractère et votre éxpérience.

Palais d'Abdin 16 Février 1874. (signé) Ismail

Document No. 5.

PARLIAMENTARY SESSIONAL PAPERS. EGYPT NO. 1 (1878).

Convention between the British and Egyptian Governments for the Suppression of the Slave Trade.

Signed at Alexandria, August 4, 1877.

The Government of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Government of His Highness the Khedive of Egypt, being mutually animated by a sincere desire to co- operate for the extinction of the Traffic in Slaves, and having resolved to conclude a Convention for the purpose of attaining this object, the Undersigned, duly authorized for this purpose, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Article I.

The government of His highness the Khedive having already promulgated a law forbidding the trade in slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) within the countries under His Highness' authority, engages to prohibit absolutely from henceforward the importation of any slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) into any part of the territory of Egypt or her dependencies, or their transit through her territories, whether by land or sea; and to punish severely, in the manner provided by existing Egyptian law, or in such manner as may hereafter be determined, any person who may be found engaged, directly or indirectly, in the Traffic in Slaves, (negroes or Abyssinians). The Government of His Highness the Khedive further engages to prohibit absolutely any negroes or

Abyssinians from leaving the territory of Egypt or her dependencies, unless it be proved undubitably that such negroes or Abyssinians are free or manumitted.

It shall be stated in the certificates of manumission or passports which shall be delivered to them by the Egyptian authorities before their departure that they may dispose of themselves without restriction or reserve.

Article II.

Any person who, either in Egypt or on the confines of Egypt and her dependencies towards the centre of Africa, may be found engaged in the Traffic in Slaves (negroes or Abyssinians), either directly or indirectly, shall, together with his accomplices, be considered by the Government of the Khedive as guilty of "stealing with murder" ("vol avec meurtre"); if subject to Egyptian jurisdiction he shall be handed over for trial to a court-martial; if not he shall immediately be handed over for trial according to the laws of his country to the competent tribunals, with the depositions (procès-verbaux) drawn up by the Egyptian superior authority of the place where the traffic has been proved, and all other documents or evidence ("éléments de conviction") handed over by the said authority, and destined to serve as proofs at the trial of the traders, so far as those laws may admit of such proof.

All slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) found in the possession of a dealer in slaves shall be liberated and dealt with in conformity with the provisions of Article III and of Annex (A) to the present Convention.

Article III.

Taking into consideration the impossibility of sending back to their homes slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) who may be captured from slave- dealers and

liberated, without exposing them to the risk of perishing from fatigue or want, or of falling again into slavery, the Egyptian Government will continue to take and apply in their favour such measures as they have already adopted, and which are hereinafter enumerated in Annex (A) to the presen Convention.

Article IV.

The Egyptian Government will exert all the influence it may possess among the tribes of Central Africa, with the view of preventing the wars which are carried on for the purpose of procuring and selling slaves.

It engages to pursue as murderers all persons who may be found engaged in the mutilation of or traffic in children; if such persons are amenable to Egyptian jurisdiction they will be brought before a court-martial; if not, they will be handed over to the competent tribunals to be dealt with according as the law of their country directs, together with the depositions (procès-verbaux) and other documents or evidence ("éléments de conviction") as laid down in Article II.

Article V.

The Egyptian Government engages to publish a special Ordinance, the text of which shall be annexed to the present Convention, prohibiting altogether all Traffic in slaves within Egyptian territories after a date to be specified in the Ordinance, and providing also for the punishment of persons guilty of violating the provisions of the Ordinance.

Article VI.

With the view to the more effectual suppression of the Traffic in slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) in the Red Sea, the Egyptian Government agrees that British

cruizers may visit, search, and, if necessary, detain, in order to hand over to the nearest or most convenient Egyptian authority for tiral, any Egyptian vessel which may be found engaged in the Traffic in slaves (negroes or Abyssinians), as well as any Egyptian vessel which may fairly be suspected of being intended for that Traffic, or which may have been engaged in it on the voyage during which she has been met with.

This right of visit and detention may be exercised in the Red Sea, in the Gulf of Aden, on the coast of Arabia, and on the East Coast of Africa, and in the maritime waters of Egypt and her dependencies.

All Slaves (negroes or Abyssinians captured by a British cruizer on board an Egyptian vessel shall be at the disposal of the British Government, who undertakes to adopt efficient measures for securing to them their freedom.

The vessel and her cargo, as well as the crew, shall be handed over for trial to the nearest or most convenient Egyptian authority.

Nevertheless, in all cases where it may not be possible for the commander of the cruizer making the capture to forward the captured slaves to a British depót, or where from any other circumstances it may appear desirable and in the interest of the captured slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) that they shoud be handed over to the Egyptian authorities, the Egyptian Government engages, on an application being made to them by the Commander of the British cruizer, or by an officer deputed by him for that purpose, to take over charge of the captured negroes or Abyssinians, and to secure to them their freedom with all the other privileges stipulated for on behalf of negroes or Abyssinians captured by the Egyptian authorities.

The British Government on its part, agrees that all vessels navigating under the British flag, in the Red Sea, in the Gulf or Aden, along the coast of Arabia, and the East Coast of Africa, or in the inland waters of Egypt and her dependencies, which may be found engaged in the Traffic in Slaves (negroes or Abys-

sinians), may be visited, seized, and detained by the Egyptian authorities; but it is agreed that the vessel and its cargo shall, together with its crew, be handed over to the nearest British authority for trial.

The captured slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) shall be released by the Egyptian Government, and shall remain at their disposal.

If the competent tribunal should decide that the seizure, detention, or prosecution was unfounded, the Government of the cruizer will be liable to pay to the Government of the prize a compensation appropriate to the circumstances of the case.

Article VII.

The present Convention shall come into operation from the date of the signature hereof for Egypt proper as far as Assouan, and within three months from the date of signature for the Egyptian possessions in Upper Africa and on the shores of the Red Sea.

In witness whereof the Undersigned have signed the present Convention, and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Alexandria, this fourth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven.

(L. S.) C. VIVIAN

(L. S.) CHERIF

Annexe A faisant partie de la Convention conclue entre le Gouvernement de la Grande Bretagne et le Gouvernement de l'Egypte, le 4 Aout, 1877, pour la Suppression du Trafic des Esclaves.

La police était jusqu' à present chargée de tout ce qui concernait les esclaves, leur affranchissement, l'éducation des enfants, &c.

Désormais ce service sera confilé à Alexandrie et au Caire à un bureau spécial établi au Gouvernorat respectif, qui pourvoira à tout ce qui regardera les esclaves et leur affranchissement.

Dans les provinces le bureau sera placé sous la direction des Inspecteurs-Généraux.

Il y aura dans ce bureau un registre destiné à la consignation de tous les détails intéressant l'esclave affranchi.

En cas de plaintes présentées par des autorités Consulaires ou par des particuliers, le bureau procédera a l'information nécessaire.

Si l'information établit la légitimité des plaintes présentées, l'affaire sera déferée a l'autorité compétente, afin qu'il soit pourvu à l'application des dispositions relatives à l'affranchissement.

Si les plaintes sont présentées par l'esclave lui-meme, le bureau, après constatation, lui délivrera des lettres d'affranchissement détachées d'un livre à souche, spécialement affecté à cet usage.

Quiconque aura pris à un affranchi ses lettres d'affranchissement, ou bien l'aura privé ou aura contribué à le priver de sa liberté par des moyens subreptices ou violents, sera traité comme trafiquant d'esclaves.

Le Gouvernement pourvoira aux besoins des esclaves et des affranchis.

Les esclaves du sexe masculin seront employés, suivant les circonstances et à leur choix, au service domestique, agricole ou militaire.

Les femmes auront une occupation domestique, soit dans des établissements, dépendant du Gouvernement, soit dans des maisons honnetes.

Les enfants males continueront à etre recus dans les écoles ou ateliers du Gouvernement, et les filles dans les écoles destinées à leur sexe.

Au surplus tout ce qui concernera l'éducation de ces enfants sera spé-

cialement confié à leur direction des Gouverneurs d'Alexandrie et du Caire, qui se concerneront avec le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, en vue des meilleures dispositions à adopter.

Pour les enfants du sexe masculin qui se trouveront dans les provinces, les Inspecteurs-Généraux les placeront dans les écoles des provinces. Quant aux filles, elles seront envoyées au Caire.

Au Soudan les esclaves libérés seront également employés, suivant les circonstances et à leur choix, au service agricole, domestique ou militaire.

Ainsi fait à Alexandrie le 4 Aout, 1877, pour etre appliqué à partir de la meme date que la susdite Convention.

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères

(Signé) CHERIF.

—o—o—o—

Nous, Isma'il, Khédive d'Egypte, vu l'Article V de la Convention passée entre les Gouvernements de la Grande Bretagne et d'Egypte, le 4 Aout, 1877, pour la suppression de la Traite des Esclaves, avons ordonné et ordonnons ce qui suit: -

Article 1. La vente des esclaves nègres ou Abyssins, de famille à famille, sera et demeurera prohibée en Egypte d'une manière absolue, sur tout le territoire compris entre Alexandrie et Assouan. Cette prohibition aura effet dans sept ans à partir de la signature de la dite Convention, dont la présenté Ordonnance fera partie intégrante. La meme prohibition s'étendra au Soudan et aux autres provinces Egyptiennes, mais seulement dans douze ans, à dater de la signature précitée.

Article 2. Toute infraction à cette prohibition de la part d'un individu queiconque, dépendant de la jurisdiction Egyptienne, sera punie de la peine des travaux forcés à temps, dont la durée pourra varier d'un minimum de cinq mois à un maximum de cinq ans, suivant la décision du Tribunal compétent.

Article 3. Le trafic des Esclaves blancs ou blanches sera et demeurera prohibé sur toute l'étendue du territoire Egyptien et dépendances. Cette prohibition prendra effet dans sept ans, à dater de la signature de la Convention sus-rappelée. Toute infraction à la dite prohibition sera punie conformément aux dispositions de l'Article 2 qui précède.

Article 4. Notre Ministre de la Justice reste chargé de pourvoir en temps utile à l'exécution des présentes.

(Signé) ISMA'IL.

Pour ampliation:

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères,

(Signé) CHERIF.

Alexandrie, le 4 Aout, 1877.

Document No. 6.

Public Record Office

F.O. 78/3189

Signed at Alexandria, September 7, 1877.

Agreement between the British and Egyptian Governments respecting the Jurisdiction of His Highness the Khedive over the Somali Coast.

The Government of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Government of His Highness the Khedive of Egypt, being desirous of concluding a conditional arrangement respecting the recognition of His Highness' jurisdiction, under the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte, over the Somali Coast as far as Ras Hafoun, the Undersigned, duly authorized for this purpose, have agreed as follows: -

Article I.

Subject to the provisions of Article V of this Agreement, the Government of His Highness the Khedive engages that from the date of the recognition by Her Majesty's Government of His Highness' jurisdiction over the coast in question, Bulhar and Berbera shall be declared free ports if steps to this effect have not already been taken, and that no monopolies or impediments to trade of any kind whatever shall be permitted at the said ports; that at Tajoura and Zeila, and all the ports on the Somali coast other than Bulhar and Berbera, the

Customs dues shall not exceed 5 per cent.; and that British subjects, commerce, and navigation shall, moreover, always be entitled to the treatment of the most favoured nation in all ports and places in the territory to be thus placed under the jurisdiction of His Highness the Khedive.

Article II.

His Highness the Khedive engages for himself and his successors that no portion of the territory to be thus formally incorporated in the Ottoman Dominions under his hereditary rule shall ever be ceded to any foreign Power.

Article III.

The Government of Her Britannic Majesty shall have the right to station British Consular Agents at any ports or places on the coast of the above-mentioned territory.

Such Consular Agents shall enjoy whatever privileges, exemptions, and immunities are or may hereafter be conceded to the Consular Agents of the most favoured nation.

Article IV.

With respect to the Slave Trade and the Police of the Seas, His Highness the Khedive engages to prohibit all export of slaves, to suppress the traffic, and to render himself responsible for maintaining order as far south as Berbera, but between Berbera and Ras Hafoun, His Highness can only pledge himself for the present, and until such time as his authority can be regularly established along this line of coast, to use every endeavour within the means at his disposal to suppress the Slave Trade, and to maintain order.

His Highness consents that the British cruizers employed, in the suppression of Slave Traffic may, whilst so employed, detain and send for trial before the competent Tribunals any vessels which they may find engaged in the illegal Traffic in Slaves, or which they may have well-founded reasons to believe are destined to be so engaged in the territorial waters of Egypt on the Somali coast.

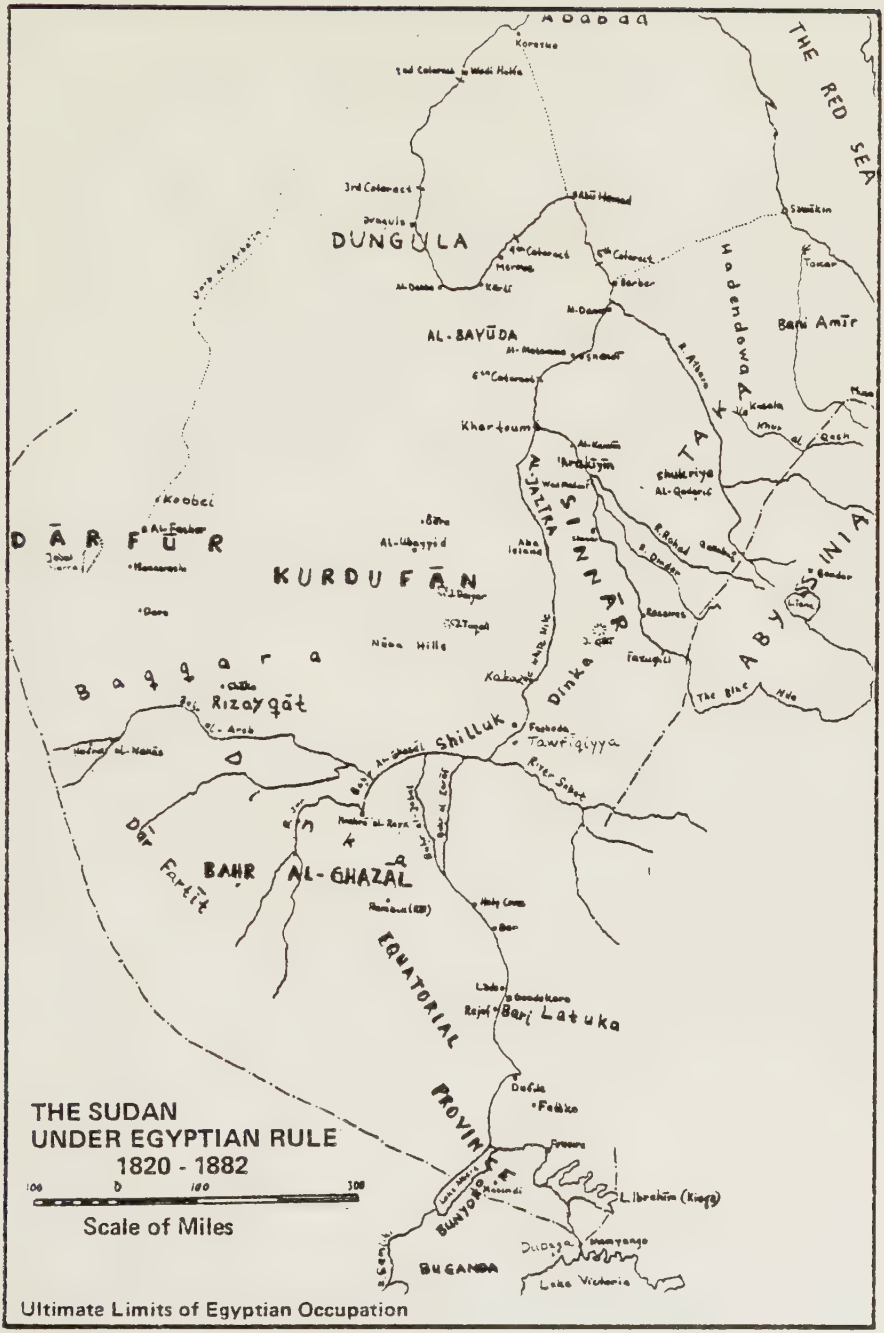
Article V.

The present Agreement shall come into operations as soon as His Imperial Majesty the Sultan shall have taken the necessary steps for placing the territory in question under the hereditary administration of His Highness the Khedive of Egypt, and shall have given an assurance to Her Majesty's Government that no foreign Power shall be permitted to hold or acquire any territory on the said coast.

In witness whereof the Undersigned have signed the present Agreement, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

(L. S.) C. VIVIAN

(L. S.) CHERIF


THE RED SEA
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Bani Amīr
Hadendowa
DĀRFŪR
KURDUFĀN
Nūba Hills
Baqqara
Rizaygāt
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Shilluk
Fashoda
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River Sobat
The Blue Nile
Kabushiya
Tarangulu
Rosaires
Dar Fartit
BAHR AL-GHAZAL
EQUATORIAL PROVINCE
Bari
Latuka
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THE SUDAN
UNDER EGYPTIAN RULE
1820 - 1882
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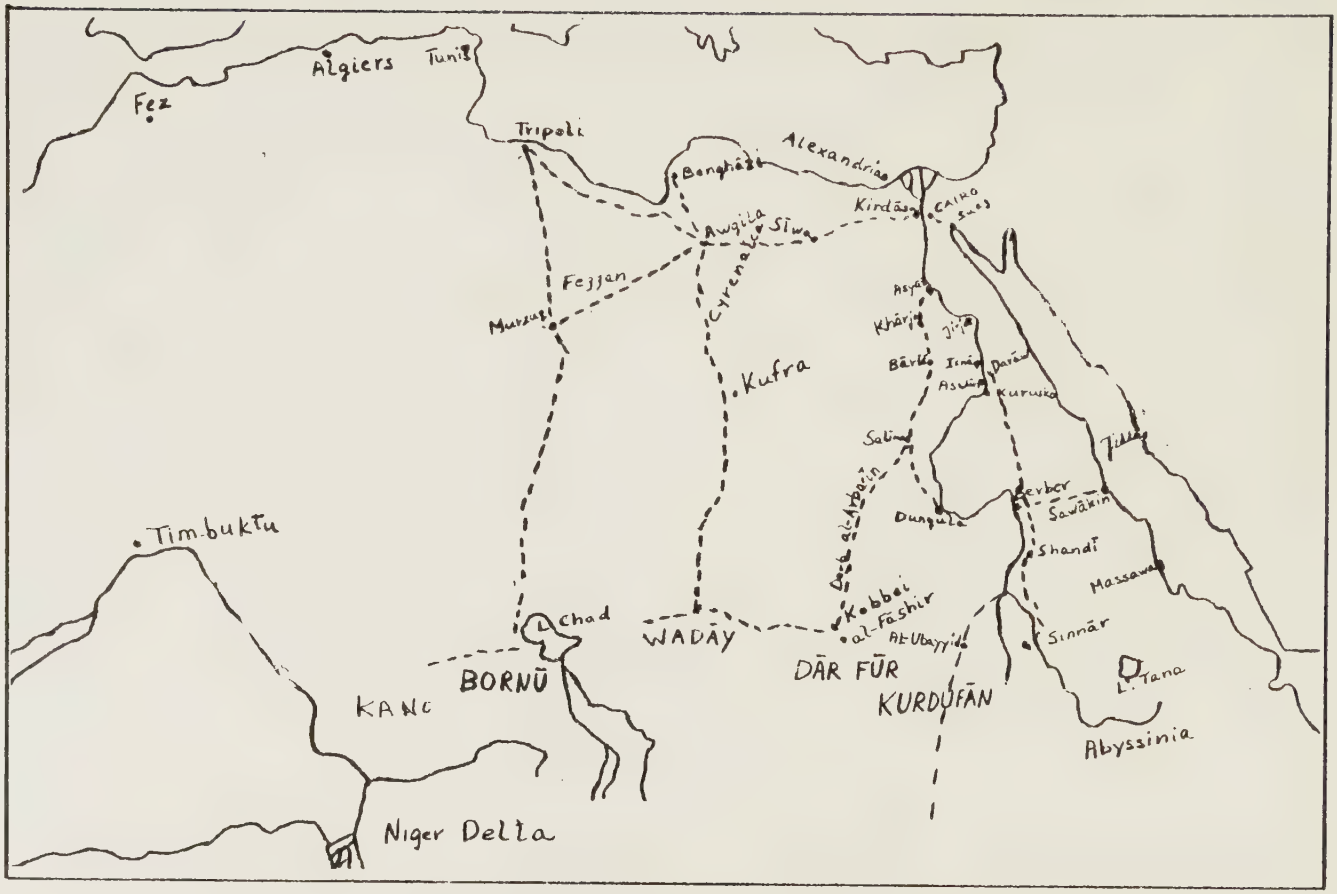
Scale of Miles
Ultimate Limits of Egyptian Occupation



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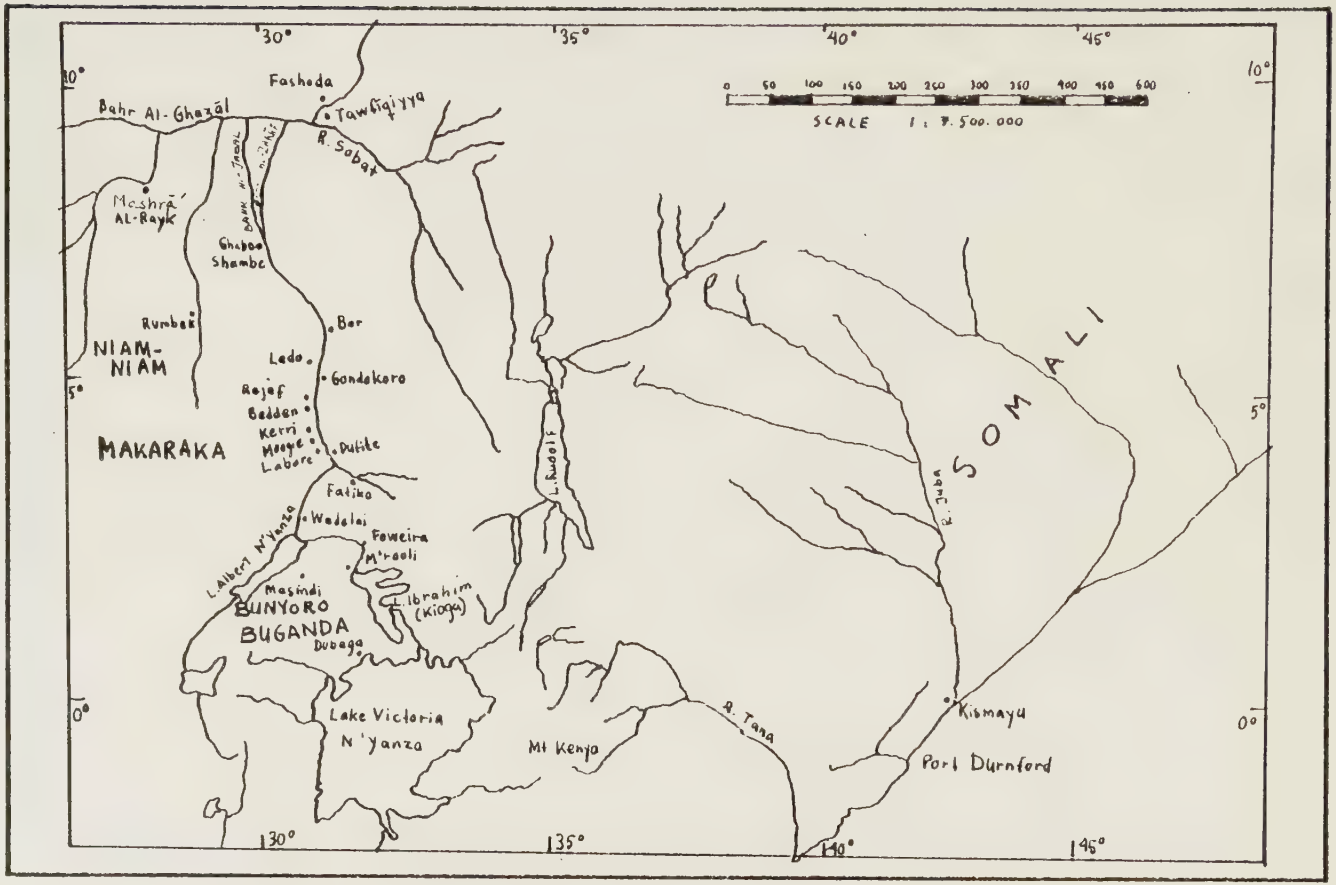

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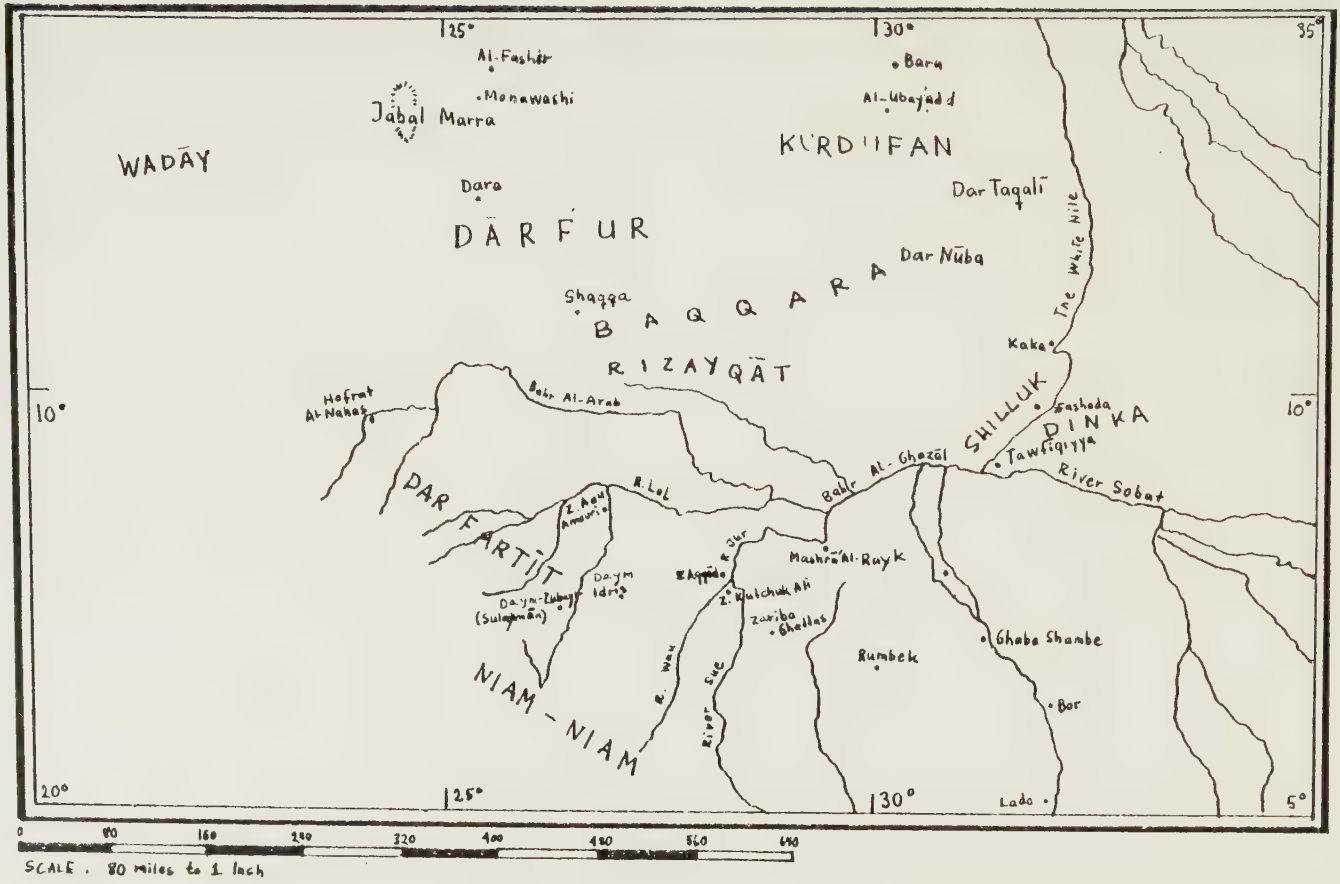
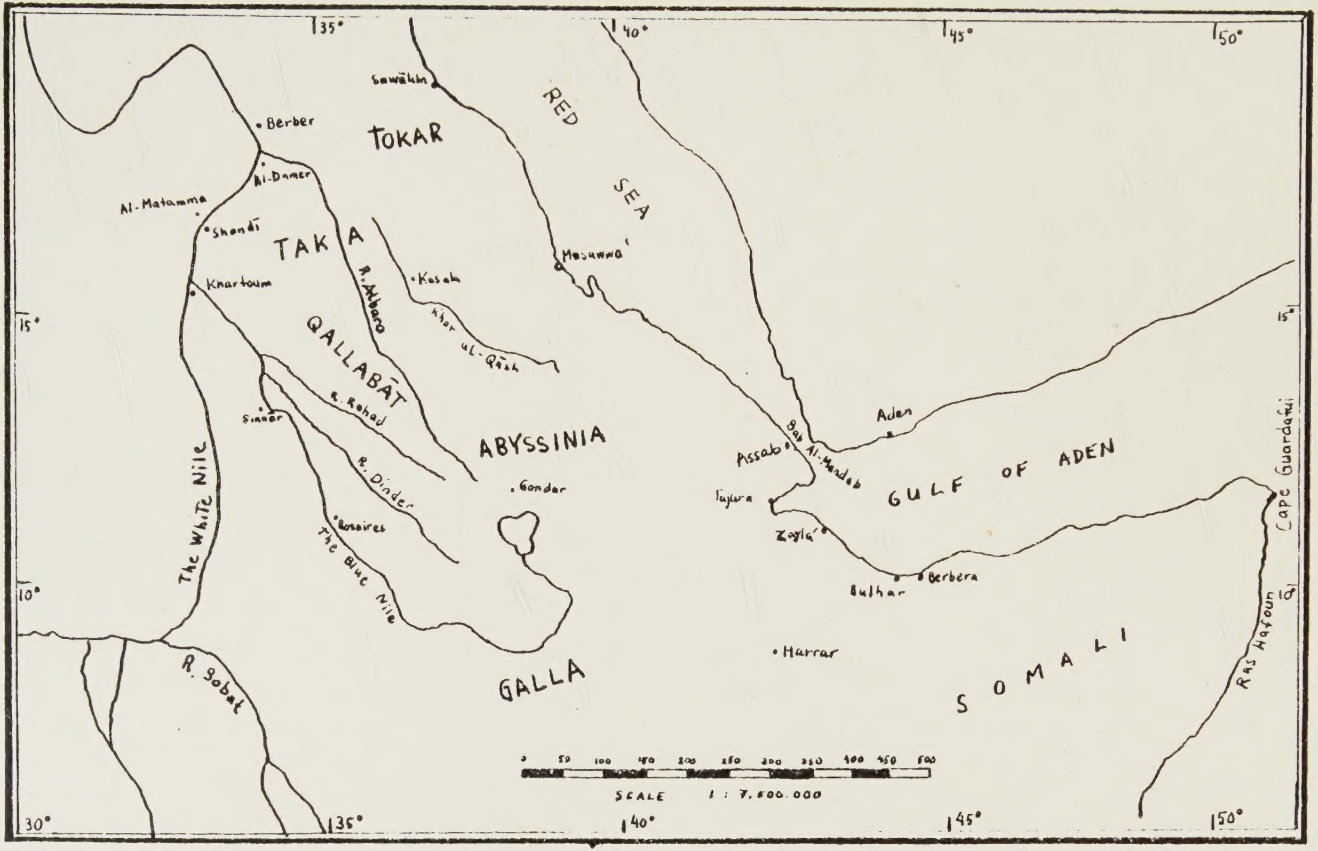


DĀR FŪR AND BAḤR AL-GHAZĀL



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